00068074

NOT TO BE ISSUED OUT
WITHOUT PERMISSION.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE:

AN EXTERNAL AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE VARIOUS ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SCRIPTURE,

WITH REMARKS ON THE NEED OF

REVISING THE ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT.

68074

BY

JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1876.

All rights reserved.

00068074

CONTENTS.

GENEVAN VERSION.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Marian Refugees—Geneva—Whittingham—His New Testament—Genevan Bible—Those Employed in the Revision—Dedication to Queen Elizabeth—To the Christian Reader—Causes of its Popularity—Breeches Bible, ... *Page* 3

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Genevan a Revision of Tyndale collated with Great Bible—Collation showing this, and also Influence of Beza—A decided Advance on the Great Bible—Excerpts—Changes to the better in the Apocrypha, . 16

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Terms with Latin Signification—Felicitous Renderings—Antique Words and Senses—Old Spelling—Unwarrantable Supplementary Clauses—Marginal Notes—Calvinism of Notes—Excellence of Version, . . 23

CHAPTER XXXV.

Bodley's Patent for printing Genevan Bible—Not printed in England during Parker's Life-time—Tomson's Revision—Great Popularity—Vitality—Esme Stuart and Cobham, ... 32

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Genevan Bible in Scotland—"Common Band" of Protestant Nobles—Scottish Scholars who might have taken part in Biblical Revision—Publication of Genevan Version and First General Assembly of the Kirk—First Edition printed in Scotland—Measures for increasing its Circulation—English of the South intelligible to Scottish Population—Overture for Revision of Genevan Version, ... 39

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Genevan the favourite Volume in Scottish Families—Laud's Dislike to it—Attacks upon it by Howson and Martin—Priest Hamilton and his Attack 50

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Early Part of Elizabeth's Reign beset with Difficulties—Agnes Prest and Joan Waste—Elizabeth's Regard for the Scriptures—Her Eagerness for Uniformity—Different Bibles in Circulation—Parker and the Proposal for another Revision—His Coadjutors—The Various Translators—Bible Finished and Presented to the Queen—Parker on Affectionate Terms with Fellow-Workers, ... 59

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Description of First Edition of Bishops' Bible—Parker's Preface—No Royal Confirmation—Rebellion of Northern Earls—Critical Remarks by Lawrence—New Testament Revised—Collation of Three Versions in Ezekiel and Matthew—Notes—Burleigh's Portrait—Price, 76

CHAPTER XL.

Specimens of Literal Translations—Supplements—More Stately than Precise—Want of Uniformity—The Great Bible superseded—Three Versions in Circulation—Martin's Attack and Fulke's Defence, . . 95

RHEIMS AND DOUAI VERSION.

CHAPTER XLI.

This Version taken from the Vulgate—Account of the Vulgate—The Church of Rome—Its Reluctance to give Vernacular Versions to the People—Catholic Refugees in Reign of Elizabeth—Seminary at Douai—New Testament Translated at Rheims—Martin and Allen—Preface to New Testament—Motives for Translating—Method of Translation—Close Adherence to Latin Text—Answers of Fulke and Cartwright—Reasons for Translating from Vulgate—Polemical Notes—Translated with the Greek Text before them—Latinized English—Good Renderings—Use of the Genevan and the Bishops'—Uniformity—Rheims New Testament appealed to by Mary, Queen of Scots, on the Evening before her Execution, . 107

CHAPTER XLII.

Old Testament published at Douai—Described—Preface sets forth Impediments—Gives Reasons for Translating from Latin Text—For Strictness in Translating some Words—Obscure Renderings, especially in Psalter—Idiomatic Renderings—Romish Notes—Controversy between Fulke and Martin—Whitgift and Cartwright—Table of Protestant Errors—Second Edition—Changes in subsequent Versions—Challoner and Lingard—Theological Nomenclature, ... 137

AUTHORIZED VERSION.

CHAPTER XLIII.

King James—Strange Incidents of Infantine Years—His Character presents a species of Dualism—Belief in Kingly Supremacy—Early Knowledge of Scripture—Fondness for Theological Discussion—Intolerance—Changes of Opinion—Flatteries heaped upon him—The Millenary Petition—Hampton Court Conference—Dr. Reynolds—The King and the Genevan Notes—New Translation agreed to—Bancroft's Correspondence with regard to it—Profusion and Poverty of the King—The Board of Revisers—Short Notices—Rules laid down for the Revision—Revision not Translation—Their own Arguments for Revision—Their Commendation of Scripture Study—Completion of the Work—Published—Dedication to the King—The Clause, "Appointed to be read in Churches"—Galloway, the Royal Chaplain—Fuller's Eulogy of the New Bible, ... 159

CHAPTER XLIV.

Constant Use of Hebrew and Greek Originals—Hebrew Text—Greek Text—Stephens and Beza—Marginal Notes—No Historical Notes—Help from various Translations—Other Helps—Selden's Glimpse into their Method of Procedure—Alternative Renderings in Margin—Influence of Bishops'—Of Earlier Versions—Care in Choice of Words—Excellence of English Style—Hebrew Phrases—Ingenious Turns of Diction—The English specially Saxon—Terms occurring only once—License taken in Translating the Apocrypha—Simplicity, Clearness, and Harmony—Universality of Adaptation—The English of the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century, ... 208

CHAPTER XLV.

Different Fate of Words in Margin and in Text—Words and Phrases in Contents of Chapters which have wholly or nearly passed away—Obsolete Words in Text—Words changed in Meaning—Archaisms—Words which

have only their Latin Meaning—Peculiar Phrases and Syntax—Varying Forms—Old Use of "His"—Variations in Spelling—Various Peculiarities, ... 242

CHAPTER XLVI.

Hostility to their Version anticipated by Translators—Charges of Broughton, Gell, and Ward—"Witchcraft"—"God Save the King"—Ecclesiastical Predilection—Doctrinal Influence—Anti-Popish Leanings—How far Beza was followed, ... 264

CHAPTER XLVII.

Supplemental Words—Italics—Supplements often unnecessary—Sometimes unwarranted—Headings of Chapters made by Command—Some Particulars regarding, ... 280

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Barkers and the Printing of Authorized Version—Bibliography—First Editions brought into Correspondence with the Bishops' and the Genevan—Specimens of Inaccuracy in Early Issues—Various Editions—Edition of Buck and Daniel—Kilburne on the Errors in Editions of Hill and Field—Field's Pearl Bible—Assembly's Annotations—Lightfoot on the Apocrypha—Editions of Blayney and Others—American Revised Edition—Punctuation and Paragraph Marks, ... 288

CHAPTER XLIX.

Scotland never had any Indigenous Translation—Content to receive its Bible from Abroad and especially from England—Authorized Version gradually made its way in Scotland—Editions Printed in that Country—Anderson's Patent—Numerous and Gross Blunders in Widow Anderson's Bibles—And in those of her Successors—James Watson's Bibles—Row's Proposals for Revision—Bible Monopoly in Scotland—The "Sweet Singers" and their Rejection of Authorized Version—Superstitious Use of the Bible—Misquotations—Number of Chapters, Verses, Words, and Letters in Bible—Wonderful and Suggestive History of English Bible. . 311

REVISION OF NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER L.

The Bible at once Divine and Human—Hostility to Settlement of the Text—Labours of Origen, Jerome, and Robert Stephens—Walton and Owen—Bengel, Mill, and Bentley—Various Scholars on the Desirableness of Revision of Authorized Version—The Long Parliament and Bill for Revision—Changes in the Original Text call for Revision of the Version—Nature of a True Revision—Futility of Objections—No Ground for Alarm—Strange Specimens of Revision by Scarlett and Heinfetter—Other Examples of Revision—Works on Revision—Tischendorf and Tregelles. 337

CHAPTER LI.

Defects of Authorized Version—Ambiguities—Inexact Renderings—Clauses Liable to be Misunderstood—Misleading Punctuation—Difficult Idioms and Technical Words. 365

CHAPTER LII.

Want of Uniformity—Variation so far Allowable — Terms Characteristic of a Divine Revelation of Love to a Sinful World — Variations which are Unnecessary—Capricious—Prejudicial—Motives Inducing—"Parable," "Love"—"Straightway" in Mark—Connection weakened by Variation—Example in St. Paul's Address at Athens—His Repeated Use of the Same Term not brought out—Other Examples of Variation. . . 383

CHAPTER LIII.

One English Term represents several Greek Words—Distinctions thereby Effaced—Several Examples—Crown, People, Godhead, True, Temple, Life—John xxi, 15-17—New Light — Clusters of Instances — Child, Beasts, Die and Dead, World, Will, Weep, Servant, Judge, Wash, Remission, Repent, Hell—Devil and Demon—Miracle, Sign, Wonder—Anacolouthon and Paronomasia. 416

CHAPTER LIV.

The Greek Article—Inconsistencies of Translators in dealing with—Before the Name Christ—Some Point or Specialty lost by its Omission—Wrongly Inserted—Overpressed. 437

CHAPTER LV.

The Greek Tenses—Aorist misrendered by Perfect—Perfect by Present—Perfect and Pluperfect—Epistle to Hebrews characterized by use of Perfect—Imperfect not correctly Rendered—Mark and the Use of the Present—Greek Verbs corresponding to "become" and "be" confounded. 445

CHAPTER LVI.

Prepositions—Misrendering of ἐν—διά—εἰς—ἐκ and ἀπό—ὑπέρ and περί—ἐπί and πρός—The conjunctions ὅπως and ἵνα. 458

CHAPTER LVII.

Proper Names—Most Familiar Forms employed—Jehovah—Proper Names variously spelled—Official Names—Chaldee Names. . . 466

CHAPTER LVIII.

Topography and Productions of Palestine—The Land illustrates the Book—Terms belonging to Botany and Zoology misrendered—Specific Topographical Terms—Measures, Weights, and Coins—Qualifications of a Translator—Hallam and Newman on the English of the Authorized Version—Brief Account of the Revision at present in progress. . 472

INDEX, ... 485

ERRATA.

Page 39, line 9 from top, *for* "Bible," *read* "Bibles."
,, 171, headline, *for* "Millenary Position," *read* "Millenary Petition."
,, 328, line 8 from top, *for* "part of fat things," *read* "feast of fat things."
,, 342, line 6 from bottom, *for* "exposition," *read* "exposure."

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

THE GENEVAN VERSION.

VOL. II.

"Beza also, in his Epistle to the prince off condy and nobles of France hathe these wordes. Seinge then all theis controuersies muste be discussed by Goddes worde, I suppose that this thinge ought chiefly to be prouided for, that seinge all cānot haue the knowledge to vnderstand the worde off God in theis peculiar languages, the Hebrue and the greek (whiche were to be wished) that there shulde be some true and apte translation of the olde and newe testamēte made the whiche diuers haue already labored to bringe to passe, but yet no man hathe hitherto sufficiently performed it. For the olde translation (whose so euer it is) although it ought not to be condemned, yet is it founde bothe obscure vnperfect and superfluous and also false in many places, to speake nothinge off an infinite variete off the copies. The whichē texte therfore many lerned and godly men haue laboured to amende, but not with like successe. And yet howe necessary a thinge this is, who so euer shall reade those moste lerned wryters off the gretians, and shall compare their interpretations (whiche are manie times farr from the purpos) with the Hebrue veritie, he shall confesse it with great sorowe.

"And the same euill was not onely hurtefull amonge the latten writers, but also the ignorance off the greeke tonge wherwith many off them were troubled, whiles they did depend off the common translation, they oftimes seeke a knott in a rushe (according to the olde prouerbe) and fell into moste fowle errors.

"Here might I touche a thinge parhapp worthe the hearinge yff hope were off redresse, whiche is, that yff the lerned were but one halff so earneste, zelous, and carefull, to se that the holy Scriptures in this Realme might be faithfully translated and trulye corrected, as they are many tymes abowte matters nothinge so necessarie: I woulde not dowte to saie that they shulde do vnto god an excellent peece off seruice,

"For the moste parte off oure Englishe Bibles are so ill translated (as the lerned report) and so falsely printed (as the simple maie find) that suche had nede to be verie well acquainted with scripture, as in many places shulde get owte the true meaninge and sence."

Troubles begun at Frankfort.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AS the storm did not burst for some time after the accession of Mary Tudor, a crowd of persons, to the number of eight hundred, who saw the clouds gathering, made their immediate escape to the Continent, and found refuge at Embden, Wesel, Strasburg, Worms, Berne, Basle, Zürich, and Frankfort. Bishop Gardyner's character and antecedents were well known; and he told Renard, the Spanish Ambassador, with quiet complacency, that "a few messages asking some of them to visit him at his house had given them wings." Among the refugees were saintly and learned men—five bishops, five deans, fifty eminent divines, and also several persons of high social distinction—six knights, three ladies of title—one of them the Duchess of Norfolk, the queen's cousin. Many foreigners who had come to England in Edward's reign also fled away. Among them was the uncle of the King of Poland, the well known John a Lasco, who obtained liberty from the Queen to leave the country. Under Edward VI he had the pastoral charge of a congregation of foreigners that met in the church of the Austin Friars. Many states and free cities assisted the exiles, for the spirit of brother-love, rising above territorial barriers, was fresh, and unwearied in its manifestations.[1] Nationality was forgotten, and the sufferings of the poor strangers were pitied, and relieved with unstinted hand. They enjoyed rest and peaceful worship for a brief season; but what were significantly called the "Troubles" soon sprang up

[1] Grafton, the printer of the Great Bible, was among the exiles, and he employed his leisure in composing his "Chronicle," and Foxe was at Basle, engaged on his "Acts and Monuments."

at Frankfort. The question of clerical vestments and of church service vexed them—some of them being of freer opinions, and others more conservative; some being disposed to compromise, and others to hold fast by the Prayer Book of Edward VI. Knox was not hostile to read prayers in themselves, for he helped to compose a "Book of Common Order";[1] but Cox, who had been tutor to the late king, was intolerant of all modification. The controversy might surely have been allowed to sleep among persons who were living by sufferance and charity in a foreign land, and certainly it was not one that necessitated an immediate solution in their circumstances. The thought of so many brethren being burned at home might have saddened them into mutual forbearance, and gratitude for their own escape might have absorbed many minor predilections. But both parties grew more decided and passionate, and at length "the contention was so sharp between them that they parted asunder one from the other," and the nonconforming section removed to Geneva.

This fair city, at the outlet of Lake Leman, girt with the mighty mountains, was regarded as the citadel of Protestantism, and it held in it the fate of Europe. Religion was therefore a matter of life and death to its inhabitants, who having frequently and gallantly defended themselves against surrounding enemies, felt that in fighting for Geneva they were upholding the liberties of humanity; for they knew that the triumph of the Duke of Savoy would entail civil and ecclesiastical ruin, and yoke all southern lands to ultramontane despotism. Their theology, whatever may now be said of it, exercised a mighty influence in England, had an ennobling ascendancy in Scotland, and has been carried across the ocean to strengthen and sanc-

[1] Carefully reprinted at Edinburgh by Blackwood & Sons, 1868, under the editorship of the Rev. W. Sprott and the Rev. Thomas Leishman, M.A. One characteristic difference between it and the English Book is, that the former allows variations—"using after sermon this prayer following, or such like"; "either in the words following, or like in effect"; "the action thus ended, the people sing the 103rd Psalm, or some other of thanksgiving." See also Lorimer's "John Knox and the Church of England," London, 1875.

tify another great republic. A collection was made in England, through the bishops, for the city of Geneva in 1582, and in 1603 the Archbishop of Canterbury issued, with the royal sanction, a proclamation to gather another gift.

But the "gospellers" were not idle in their picturesque retreat, and a revision of the New Testament was soon taken in hand. Such a work was in harmony with the literary and Biblical enterprises of that city of refuge under the shadow of the Alps; and Calvin, Beza, and their colleagues, shed a new lustre on its history. Olivetan, a relative of Calvin, had already translated and published a French Bible, and in the execution of the work Calvin had rendered him considerable assistance. An edition of the New Testament, which, however, is not a portion of the Genevan Bible proper, was published in 1557, on the 10th of June—one of the most terrible months in England, for between the 18th and 22nd days of that month twenty-seven martyrs yielded up their lives.

The editor of this New Testament was William Whittingham.[1] William Whittingham was born in 1524, in the parish of Lanchester, near Durham. He became a commoner of Brasenose, Oxford, about 1540, and five years afterwards a fellow of All Souls. According to Wood, he was, on account of his scholarship, chosen one of the senior students of Christ Church, Henry wishing to fill it with the most promising young men, as had also been the desire of Wolsey. Whittingham had returned home from twelve years' foreign travel and sojourn a few weeks before King Edward's death. But he again left his native land, and, with many others, arrived in Frankfort on the 27th of June, 1554. Having gone to Geneva toward the end of 1555, he married Catherine, the sister of John Calvin. Whittingham came back to England on the accession of Elizabeth, and was promoted in 1563 to the deanery of Durham, which he held for sixteen years. He had been for a period chief engineer and chaplain in the defence of Havre de Grace, the general in command being the Earl of Warwick

[1] Whittingham distinctly identifies himself as the editor. Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort, p. cxciii, Petheram, London, 1846.

brother to the Earl of Leicester through whose influence he so speedily obtained promotion,[1] though he had not been episcopally ordained. He dealt roughly with some of the monuments in his cathedral; but his wife showed what blood was in her, when she took "the blessed banner of St. Cuthbert," which had once waved victorious on Flodden Edge, and "despitefully burned it in her fire, to the open contempt and disgrace of all sacred relics."[2]

The New Testament so speedily revised, and published anonymously, is the work of one man, for in the explanatory address to the reader, he speaks uniformly in the first person singular. His words are: "To these therfore which are of the flocke of Christ which knowe their Father's wil, and are affectioned to the trueth, I rendre a reason of my doing in few lines. First, as touching the perusing of the text, it was diligently reuised by the moste approued Greke examples, and conference of translations in other tonges as the learned may easily iudge, both by the faithful rendering of the sentence, and also by the proprietie of the wordes, and perspicuite of the phrase. Forthermore that the Reader might be by all meanes proffited, I haue deuided the text into verses and sections, according to the best editions in other langages, and also, as to this day the ancient Greke copies mencion, it was wont to be vsed. And because the Hebrewe and Greke phrases, which are strange to rendre in other tongues, and also short, shulde not be to harde, I haue sometyme interpreted them without any whit diminishing the grace of the sense, as our langage doth vse them, and sometime haue put to that worde, which lacking made the sentence obscure, but haue set it in such letters as may easily be discerned from the common text. As concerning the Annotations, wherunto these letters *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., leade vs, I haue endeuored so to proffit all therby, that both the learned and others might be holpen: for to my knol-

[1] See a short Life of Whittingham in Lorimer's "John Knox and the Church of England," taken from the papers of Anthony à Wood, Appendix, p. 303.

[2] Whittingham contributed several Psalms to the collection that went by the name of Sternhold and Hopkins.

lage I haue omitted nothing vnexpounded, wherby he that is any thing exercised in the Scriptures of God, might iustely complayn of hardenes: and also in respect of them that haue more proffited in the same, I haue explicat all such places by the best learned interpreters, as ether were falsely expounded by some, or els absurdely applyed by others: so that by this meanes both they which haue not abilitie to by the Commentaries vpon the New Testament, and they also which haue not opportunitie and leasure to reade them be cause of their prolixitie may vse this book in steade therof; and some tyme wher the place is not greatly harde, I haue noted with this mark ″, that which may serve to the edification of the Reader: adding also such commone places, as may cause him better to take hede to the doctrine. Moreouer, the diverse readings according to diuerse Greke copies, which stand but in one worde, may be known by this note ", and if the bookes do alter in the sentence then it is noted with this starre * as the cotations are. Last of all remayne the arguments aswel they which conteyne the summe of euery chapter as the other which are placed before the bookes and epistles: wherof the commoditie is so great, that they may serue in stede of a Commentarie to the Reader." There was also prefixed a stirring and eloquent Epistle, declaring that "Christ is the end of the lawe," by John Calvin.

Many erroneous statements have been made about this New Testament, such as, that it was edited or prepared by a company of the exiles—the theory of Lewis, Newcome, and of Todd who is in utter uncertainty on the matter, and like many others, does not distinguish the New Testament of 1557 from that published along with the Old Testament in 1560. Some even have held that this New Testament was the first edition of that reprinted in the Genevan Bible three years afterwards. Lewis and Newcome in their respective histories, D'Oyly and Mant in their preface, C. Rogers,[1] Dean Hook,[2] and others,

[1] Collation of the principal English translations of the sacred Scriptures, p. 40, by Charles Rogers, Dundee, 1847. This book is in no true sense a collation, but merely the printing of some verses of the older translations in parallel columns.

[2] Lives of the Archbishops of

have fallen into this error. But this New Testament is quite distinct from that of 1560—is, in fact, a different version.[1] The Genevan exiles regarded the New Testament of their Bible as their own completed and standard work, and never reprinted Whittingham's earlier publication. In fact, the New Testament was published before the translation of the Bible was commenced, being finished at press on the 10th of June, 1557. The Bible was begun by January of the following year, and it occupied the exiles "for the space of two years and more, day and night."

The New Testament was in small octavo or duodecimo—

"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approved translations. With the arguments as well before the Chapters, as for euery Boke and Epistle, also diuersities of readings, and moste proffitable annotations of all harde places: wherunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva, printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII;" the same words forming the colophon, with the addition, "this x day of June."

There is a peculiar engraving on the title-page, representing Time, with wings, scythe, and hour glass, helping Truth out of the grave, with this motto on its two sides—"God by Tyme restoreth Truth and maketh her victorious." The greater portion of the marginal notes of this New Testament were transferred to that of 1560. Thus, in the first nine chapters of Matthew, out of one hundred and thirty-four notes, there are only twenty not taken from this earlier New Testament. For the first time the chapters of the New Testament were divided into verses, with the number prefixed to each; and indeed they had been already marked on the margin of Stephen's Greek Testament of 1551, his fourth edition, printed at Geneva.[2] Supplemented words were

Canterbury, vol. IV, new series, p. 320. It is a thankless task to correct inaccuracies, but if any one will only collate a single chapter, such as the third chapter of Matthew, he will see that in it alone the translation of 1560 differs in twenty-nine places from that of 1557.

[1] A separate New Testament, published in 1560, is a reprint of that in the Bible of the same date.

[2] Robert Stephens introduced the

printed in italics, or in letters that might be easily distinguished from the common text, in imitation of Münster's Old Testament of 1534. There were also clear pointed marginal notes that in those days were greedily welcomed, especially such of them as were charged with theology.

This New Testament had been brought over to England before the death of Queen Mary; for we find that when John Living, who had been a priest at Auburn, and was under hiding in London, was informed against, brought before Bonner's chancellor, and carried to the jailor's house in Paternoster Row, he complained of being robbed there of "my purse, my girdle, my psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva."

The Genevan exiles, having resolved to revise the English Bible, braced themselves for their work, and took hold of the best helps in their power. Their revision shows their method of procedure, and what versions, Latin, German, and French, they chiefly followed. A goodly number of scholars has sometimes been named as engaged in the enterprise—Le Long, Wood,[1] Todd, Newcome, Townley,[2] and Boothroyd,[3] mention John Bodleigh, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Cole, Anthony Gilby, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, John Pullain, Thomas Sampson, and William Whittingham. But all those nine could not have given themselves to the labour, or continued at it till it was concluded. Coverdale was at Geneva only for a brief period after the version had been commenced; for on the 12th November, 1559, he was preaching in his turn at Paul's Cross, and Cole, Pullain, and Bodleigh came home during the same year. Knox went to Geneva in 1554, and left it in November for Frankfort. He returned to Geneva in 1555,

numbering of the verses in his edition of 1551, as one means of facilitating the preparation of a concordance which he had planned, and Henry Stephens had printed verse numbers in his Psalterium Quincuplex, 1509. Versus was the Latin form of the Greek "stichoi," there being, according to Dr. Scrivener, about five stichoi to two verses. Plain Introduction, p. 65, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1874. Rabbi Nathan had set an example in his Hebrew Bible. The verses in the Latin translation of Pagninus are, in the New Testament, short paragraphs.

[1] Athenæ, 2nd ed., p. 194.

[2] Biblical Literature, vol. II, p. 286.

[3] Introduction, p. 21.

and in the winter of that year came over to Scotland. Going back once more to Geneva for a brief period, he bade a final farewell to it in January, 1559.[1] Goodman, accompanied by Knox's wife and children, arrived in Edinburgh on the 20th September, 1559. The accession of Elizabeth in November, 1558, left it open for the exiles to come home, after they heard the good news, in the following month. When intelligence came that the persecutor had died—in their own phrase, that "the Lord had showed mercy unto England by the removal of Queen Mary by deathe, and placing the queen's majesty that now is, in the seate," the work of revision was not nearly finished, but Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson remained to carry it through. Thus Wood says, "Whittingham with one or two more did tarry at Geneva a year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, being resolved to go through with the work."[2] The author of the "History of the Troubles"[3] records that "the congregation (after that they had rendred their humble thankes to the magistrates for their great goodnes towards them) prepared themselues to depart sauinge certeine whiche remained behinde the reste, to witt, to finishe the bible, and the psalmes bothe in meeter and prose, whiche were already begon, at the charges off suche as were off most habilitie in that congregation. And with what successe those workes were finished (especially the Bible) I must leaue it to the Iudgementes off the godly lerned, who shulde best Iudge off the same." But it would seem from the language of their preface that others beyond those three gave assistance and counsel. The writer just quoted proceeds, "There is nothinge more requisite to attaine the right and absolute knowledge off the doctrine of saluation, wherby to resist all herisie and falshod, then to haue the texte off the Scriptures faithfully and truly translated, the consideration wheroff moued them with

[1] John Knox had two sons born to him during his residence in Geneva. At the baptism of the first, Whittingham was godfather; and at the baptism of the second, Bishop Miles Coverdale was godfather.

[2] Annals, vol. I, p. 151.

[3] Whittingham was very probably the author. Goodman was first Protestant Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews.

one assent to requeste 2 off their brethern, to witt, Caluin and Beza, efsonnes to peruse the same notwithstandinge their former trauells."

Gilby on his return became rector of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the gift of the Earl of Huntington. He wrote a Commentary on Micah and some others of the Minor Prophets. Sampson, who is said by Wood to have been the means of converting Bradford the martyr, was offered the see of Norwich which he declined; and in 1561 he became Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, but was removed in 1564, on account of his refusing to wear the vestments. In September, 1570, he was collated to the prebend of St. Pancras in St. Paul's—the stall of Ridley and Rogers in former days. Sampson was noted as a very able man. In a recommendation to the queen on his behalf it is said "that it is doubtful whether he is a greater linguist, or a more complete scholar and profound divine." Native scholars were also engaged on the actual work, for they seized the "great opportunity and occasion which God presented unto us in this church by reason of so many godly and learned men, and such diversities of translations in divers tongues." They were urged by many "who put them on this work by their earnest desire and exhortation," and they were told "not to spare any charge for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God towards his church." The Bible was finished and published in April, 1560, with the following title:—

"The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament, translated according to the Ebrue and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers language. With most profitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great import, as may appear in the epistle to the reader. At Geneva, printed by Rouland Hall, MDLX.[1] The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ conferred diligently with the Greke and best approved translations in divers languages, &c."

[1] The printer was himself a refugee from England, and after his return many books issued from his press, among others, in 1560 the Scottish Confession of Faith.

The woodcut in both titles is the passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea—the motto above and below being Exodus xiii, 13, divided, and that on the sides similarly halved is Ps. xxxiv, 19. There are several "pictures" and maps interspersed through the volume. The Apocrypha has few marginal notes.

The Bible was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in simple and vigorous language, without adulation or the cant of loyalty, and it thus addresses her Majesty: "The eyes of all that fear God in all places behold your countries, as an example to all that believe, and the prayers of all the godly at all times are directed to God for the preservation of your majesty. For, considering God's wonderful mercies towards you at all seasons, who hath pulled you out of the mouth of lions, and how that from your youth you have been brought up in the Holy Scriptures, the hope of all men is so increased that they cannot but look that God should bring to pass some wonderful work by your grace to the universal comfort of his Church. This Lord of Lords and King of Kings who hath ever defended his, strengthen, comfort, and preserve your majesty, that you may be able to build up the ruins of God's house to His glory, the discharge of your conscience, and to the comfort of all them that love the coming of Christ Jesus our Lord. . . ." Yet these men, exiles themselves suffering from Popish persecution, tell the queen to unsheath the sword against the Papists, and "utterly to abolish idolatry; to root out, cut down, these weeds and impediments. . . . in imitation of the noble Josias who destroyed not only their idols and appurtenances, but also burnt the priests' bones upon their altars, and put to death the false prophets and sorcerers . . . yea, and in the days of King Asa, it was enacted that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be slain, whether he were small or great, man or woman." Then followed an epistle: "To our beloved in the Lord, the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Now, for as much as this thing (progress in a holy life) is chiefly attained by the knowledge and practising of the Word of God (which is the light to our paths, the key of the kingdom of heaven, our comfort in affliction, our shield and

sword against Satan, the school of all wisdom, the glass wherein we behold God's face, the testimony of his favour and the only food and nourishment of our souls), we thought we could bestow our labours and study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to his Church, than in the translating of the Scriptures into our native tongue; the which thing, albeit that others heretofore have endeavoured to achieve; yet, considering the infancy of those times, and imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and clear light which God hath now revealed, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed."

"To the Christian Reader," they describe their work: "Now as we haue chiefly obserued the sense, & laboured always to restore it to all integritie: so haue we most reuerently kept the proprietie of the words, considering that the Apostle who spake & wrote to the Gentiles in the Greeke tongue, rather constrained them to the liuely phrase of the Ebrewe, then enterprised farre by mollifying their language to speake as the Gentiles did. And for this & other causes we haue in many places reserued the Ebrew phrases, notwithstanding that they may seeme somewhat hard in their eares that are not well practised, & also delight in the sweet sounding phrases of the Holy Scriptures. Yet lest either the simple should be discouraged, or the malicious haue any occasion of iust cauillation, seeing some translations reade after one sort, & some after another, whereas all may serue to good purpose & edification, we haue in the margent noted that diuersitie of speech or reading which may also seeme agreeable to the minde of the Holy Ghost, & proper for our language with this marke ‖. Againe, whereas the Ebrewe speech seemed hardly to agree with ours, we haue noted it in the margent after this sort ‡, vsing that which was more intelligible. And albeit that many of the Ebrew names be altered from the old text, & restored to the true writing & first originall, whereof they haue their signification yet in the vsuall names, little is changed for feare of troubling the simple readers. Moreouer, whereas the necessitie of the sentence required any thing to be added (for such is the grace & proprietie of the Ebrewe & Greeke tongues that it cannot but either by

circumlocution or by adding the verbe or some word, be vnderstood of them that are not well practised therein) wee haue put it in the text with another kinde of letter, that it may easily bee discerned from the common letter. As touching the diuision of the verses, we haue folowed the Ebrew examples which haue so euen from the beginning distinguished them. Which thing as it is most profitable for memorie, so doth it agree with the best translations, & is most easie to finde out both by the best Concordances, & also by the quotations which we haue diligently herein perused & set forth by this *. Besides this, the principall matters are noted and distinguished by this marke ¶. Yea, & the arguments both for the booke & for the chapters with the number of the verse are added, that by all means the reader might be holpen. For the which cause also we haue set ouer the head of every page some notable worde or sentence which may greatly further as well for memorie as for the chiefe point of the page. And considering how hard a thing it is to understand the Holy Scriptures, & what errors, sects, & heresies grow dayly for lacke of the true knowledge thereof, & how many are discouraged (as they portend) because they cannot attaine to the true & simple meaning of the same, we haue also indeuoured both by the diligent reading of the best commentaries, & also by the conference with the godly & learned brethren, to gather briefe annotations vpon all the hard places, as well for the vnderstanding of such words as are obscure, & for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same, as may most appertaine to God's glory, & the edification of his Church. Finally, that nothing might lacke which might be bought by labours, for the increase of knowledge & furtherance of God's glory, there are adioyned two most profitable tables, the one seruing for the interpretation of the Ebrewe names: & the other containing all the chiefe & principal matters of the whole Bible: so that nothing (as we trust) that any could iustly desire is omitted."

Many things about this edition gave it immediate, wide, and lasting popularity. It was printed in Roman characters, with division into chapters and verses, as in the previous New Testament. It was not a heavy, unhandy folio like the editions

of Coverdale, Rogers, or the Great Bible; but a moderate and manageable quarto. Its marginal notes were a kind of running comment—vigorous and lucid, dogmatic and practical, presenting such aspects of truth and duty as were then all but universally prized, and such political lessons as the History of England so naturally shaped and suggested. It became at once the people's Book in England and Scotland, and it held its place not only during the time of the Bishops' Bible, but even against the present Authorized Version for at least thirty years. It was the first Bible ever printed in Scotland (1576-79), and it was the cherished volume in all Covenanting and Puritan households. And it was entitled to this pre-eminence as a learned and cautious revision.

The Genevan version is often called the "Breeches Bible," from its rendering of Gen. iii, 7—"They sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves breeches." The translation "breeches" is not, however, peculiar to the Genevan, for it is the translation of "perizomata" in both the Wycliffite versions. The term occurs afterwards in the "Golden Legende"—that is, portions of the historical books of Scripture, translated and printed by Caxton, 1503—"And thenne they toke fygge levys, & sewed them togyder for to cover their membres in the manner of breches."[1]

[1] Mr. Blunt says, "Some editions of the Geneva Bible are called the Vinegar Bible, from a misprint of vinegar for vineyard." But the so-called Vinegar Bible is only an edition of the Authorized Version, in tall and unwieldy folio, printed by Basket, Oxford, 1717. The error occurs in the running title at Luke xxii, "parable of the vinegar," instead of "parable of the vineyard."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE Genevan New Testament of 1557 is a revision of Tyndale's version collated with the Great Bible. The work was carefully done, but without due leisure. The influence of Beza is perceptible, his Latin version having been published in 1556. It usually follows Tyndale in the basis of the version or in form and phrase, and Tyndale is also the foundation of the New Testament of the Great Bible. It often agrees with him against the Great Bible. Thus, in the first chapter of Galatians :—

GALATIANS I.

Verse.

10. "Preach I now man's doctrine or God's?" after Tyndale—the Great Bible having, "Do I now persuade men or God?"—"speak unto men," ed. 1539. The Genevan, after Tyndale, omits the "hitherto" of the Great Bible.
19. The Great Bible has, "Other of the apostles saw I none"; the Genevan, following Tyndale, has "no nother of the apostles sawe I."
21. The Great Bible has, "They glorified God in me," the correct rendering; but the Genevan "for me" is based on Tyndale's "on my behalfe."

In the same chapter the Genevan follows the Great Bible in the following places as against Tyndale :—

4. "according to the will of God"; Tyndale, "thorow the will of God."
9. "as we sayde before"; Tyndale, "as I saidde before."
12. "but by the revelation of Jesus Christe"; Tyndale, "but received it by."

Though the translation follows Tyndale generally as against the Great Bible, it sometimes differs from both, and is often led by Beza. Thus again, Galatians, chap. i :—

Verse

2. "unto the churches in Galatia"[1]; "congregations" being the rendering in Tyndale and in the Great Bible.

13. "the Church of God,"[2] Tyndale and the Great Bible having "congregation," as in verse 2. The word "church," which has given rise to so much dispute about its meaning, rights, and powers, was thus brought in by the puritan revisers, and was naturally preserved both in the Bishops' and in the Authorized Version.

"extremely"[3]; Tyndale and Great Bible, "beyond measure."

14. "traditions received of my father"[4]—Tyndale and Great Bible, "traditions of the elders."

16. "to reveal his Son to me"[5]; Tyndale and the Great Bible, "for to declare his Son by me."

20. No initial particle in Tyndale and the Great Bible—the "now" of the Genevan (1560) perhaps representing *autem*, Beza.

22. "They heard only *some say* that he"[6]; Tyndale and the Great Bible, "they heard only that he."

The same chapter in the Bible of 1560 has other changes, making it yet a better and a more literal translation—many of the changes being suggested by Beza.

Verse

1. "which hath raysed him from the dead"[7]; Tyndale, the Great Bible, and Genevan, 1557, "raysed hym from death."

4. "which gave him selfe for oure sinnes, that he might deliver us"[8]; Tyndale and Genevan of 1557 having, "to deliver us."

6. "so soon . . . from him that had called you," Genevan, 1560; "forsaking him that had called you," Genevan, 1557.

9. "let him be accursed"[9]; Tyndale, "hold him accursed."

[1] Beza, *Ecclesiis.*
[2] Beza, *ecclesiam Dei.*
[3] Beza, *summe.*
[4] Beza, *patribus meis acceperam.*
[5] But Beza has, "*in me.*"
[6] Beza, *Sed solum audierant qui dicerent.*
[7] Beza, *ex mortuis.*
[8] Beza, *ut eximeret nos.*
[9] Beza, *anathema sit.*

GALATIANS I—*Continued.*

Verse

11. "not after man"[1]; Tyndale, Great Bible, and the Genevan of 1557, "not after the manner of man."

16. "I communicated not"[2]; Tyndale, Great Bible, and Genevan, 1557, "I commened not of the matter."

17. "turned againe vnto Damascus"[3]; Tyndale, Great Bible, and Genevan, 1557, "Came agayne to Damascus," an improvement on Beza, though not a correct translation.

In verses 6 and 15 the pluperfect is wrongly used in both Genevan versions, "had called you," "had separated me"; Tyndale and the Great Bible being more literal.

Tyndale, as we have seen, is very careless about the connecting particles, and usually omits them as γάρ in verse 10, δέ in verse 11, γάρ in verse 12, δέ in verses 19 and 20; the Great Bible follows Tyndale in all these places but verse 12; the Genevan of 1557 does not translate the small words in verses 11 and 20, but that of 1560 translates the particles in all these instances, and its translations are preserved in the Authorized Version. This rendering of the particles is a characteristic improvement on Tyndale.

The Genevan Old Testament is a decided advance on the Great Bible, as two excerpts, one from the historical books and the other from the prophets, may show. Though the version is brought nearer to the Hebrew, it does not suffer in its English style. Sampson was reputed to be a good Hebrew scholar, and guidance was found in Pagninus, Münster, and Leo Judæ.[4]

[1] Beza, *secundum hominem.*

[2] Beza, *non contuli.*

[3] Beza, *ac denuo reversus sum Damascum.*

[4] The reference is to the Latin version of Leo Judæ, which is sometimes called the Tigurine Bible—Tigurum being a Latin name of Zürich; Turicum is said, however, to be the real name. Leo Judæ dying before the work was concluded, it was finished by Bibliander (Buchmann), Cholin, and Gualter, and published in folio at Zürich in 1543, Pellicanus being editor. Froschover's arms, the tree and the frogs—a punning use of his own name—adorn the title-page.

NUMBERS XX.

Verse	GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.
1.	And the children of Israell came with the *whole multitude*[1]. vnto the deserte of Sin, in the fyrst moneth, & the people abode at Cades; and *there* dyed Mir Iam, & was buryed there.[2]	Then the children of Israel came with the *whole congregacion*[3] to the desert of Zin in the first moneth, & the people abode at Kadesh, where Miriam dyed & was buryed there.
2.	But there was no water for the *multitude*,[4] & they *gathered*[5] *themselves* together againste Moyses & Aaron.[6]	But there was no water for the *congregacion*,[7] & they assembled themselves *against* Moses and & *against* Aaron.[8]
3.	And the people chode with Moyses and spake, saying: woulde God that we hadde perished, when our brethren dyed[9] before the Lord.	And the people chode with Moses & spake saying. Woulde God we had perished when our brethren *dyed*[10] before ye Lord.
4.	Why have ye broughte the congregation of the Lorde into this wyldernesse: that bothe we & oure cattell should dye *in it*?[11]	Why have ye broght the congregacion of the Lord unto this wilderness that both we & our cattel shulde dye *there*?[12]
5.	Wherefore have *ye made us to go out* of Egypt, to bring us into this *ungracious*[13] place, which is no place of seede, nor of fygges, nor vines, nor of pomegranates, neither is there any water to drynke.	Wherefore *now have ye made* us to *come up*[14] from Egypt, to bring us into this miserable place, which is no place of sede, nor figs, nor vines, nor pomgranates? neither is there anie water to drinke.

[1] Cum universa multitudine, Münster.

[2] "Ibi," repeated in Pagninus and in Coverdale, after Luther and the "daselbst" of the Zürich.

[3] Omnis congregatio, Pagninus. "The children of Israel even the whole congregation," of the Authorized being according to the Hebrew. Universus scilicet cœtus, Leo Judæ.

[4] Multitudini, Münster.

[5] Preserved in the Bishops' and Authorized.

[6] Second "against" of the Hebrew not repeated in Coverdale and the Zürich Bible.

[7] Congregationi, Pagninus.

[8] Contra . . . contra; adversus . . . adversus, Pagninus, Leo Judæ, & according to the Hebrew.

[9] The same verb is repeated in Tyndale (Matthew), Pagninus, and Leo Judæ, after the Hebrew; so in Luther and the Zürich version, and in Coverdale.

[10] In morte fratrum nostrorum, Münster.

[11] In eo, Münster.

[12] Ibi, Pagninus.

[13] Tyndale (Matthew).

[14] Fecistis ascendere, Vulgate; effecistis ut ascenderemus, Leo Judæ.

NUMBERS XX—*Continued.*

Verse	GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.
6.	And Moyses and Aaron went from the congregation unto the doore of the tabernacle of *wytnesse*,[1] & fell upon theyr faces [& they[2] cryed unto the Lorde & saide: O Lorde God, heare the crye of this people, & open them thy tresure, even a fountayne of lyving water that they maye bee satysfied, & that theyr murmurying maye ceasse] & the glory of the Lorde appeared upon them.	Then Moses and Aaron went from the assemblie unto the dore of the Tabernacle of the *congregation*[3] & fel upon their faces: & the glorie of the Lord appeared unto them.
7.	And the Lord spake unto Moyses, saying,	And the Lord spake unto Moses saying—
8.	Take the rodde, and gather thou & thy brother Aaron the congregation together, & speake unto the rocke before theyr eyes & it shall give forthe hys water. And thou shalt brynge them water out of the rocke, to give the *company*[4] drinke & theyr *beastes*[5] *also*.	Take the rod, & gather thou & thy brother Aaron the congregation together, & speake ye unto the rocke before their eies, & it shall give forthe his water, & thou shalt bring them water out of the rocke: *so thou shalt give*[6] the congregation & their beastes drinke.
9.	And Moyses took the rodde *from*[7] before *the Lorde*, as he commanded hym.	Then Moses toke the rod from before the Lord, as he *had commanded* him.[8]
10.	And Moyses & Aaron gathered the congregation together before the rocke: & Moyses[9] sayde unto	And Moses & Aaron gathered ye congregacion together before the rocke & Moses sayd unto them

[1] Septuagint, μαρτυρίου; Vulgate, foederis; similarly Münster, Luther, and the Zürich, taking the word from a root similar to the true one.

[2] An interpolation from the Vulgate.

[3] Ecclesiæ, Pagninus, and according to the Hebrew.

[4] Tyndale (Matthew

[5] Tyndale (Matthew).

[6] Ut potum præstes cœtui, et jumentis eorum, Münster.

[7] Authorized goes back to Tyndale, "from before the Lord."

[8] Sicut præceperat, Vulgate; jusserat, Münster.

[9] A supplemented nominative to the singular verb, "he said," Tyndale.

GREAT BIBLE. GENEVAN.

NUMBERS XX—*Continued.*

Verse

them: heare *ye rebellyons*, must[1] we *fette*[2] you water out of the roche.

—Heare now, ye rebels: shal[3] we bring you water out of this rock.

11. And Moyses lift up hys hande, & with hys rodde he smote the rocke *two times*,[4] & the water came out aboundantlye, & the *multitude*[5] dranke & theyr beastes also.

Then Moses lift up his hand & with his rod he smote the rock twice, & the water came out abundantly: *so the*[6] congregacion & their beastes dranke.

MALACHI III.

1. *For marck*[7] the daye commeth that shall burne as an oven: & all the proude, yea, & all such as do wyckednesse, shal be *strawe*[8] & the daye that is *for to come*,[9] shall burne theym up (saieth the Lorde of hostes, *so that*[10] it shall leave them nether rote nor braunche.

For beholde[11] the day cometh that shal burne as an oven, & all the proude yea & all that do wickedly, shall be *stubble*,[12] & *the day that cometh*[13] shal burne them up saith the Lord of hostes & shall leave them neither roote nor branche.

2. But unto you that feare my name shall that Sonne of ryghteousnesse aryse, and health shal be under hys wynges: ye shal go forth & *multiplie*[14] as the fat calves.[15]

But unto you that feare my name shal the Sunne of righteousnes arise, & health shal be under his wings, and ye shal go forthe, & *growe*[16] up as fat calves.

[1] Must, Tyndale (Matthew).

[2] Fette, fetch, kept in the Authorized Version.

[3] Coverdale, Werden wir . . . bringen, Zürich and Luther.

[4] Duabus vicibus, Pagninus.

[5] Multitudo, Münster.

[6] Ita ut, Vulgate.

[7] Coverdale.

[8] Strouw, Zürich.

[9] Dies venturus, Pagninus.

[10] Coverdale, Adeo ut, Leo Judæ.

[11] Ecce enim, Pagninus; quoniam ecce, Münster.

[12] Stipula, Pagninus and Vulgate.

[13] Dies veniens, Vulgate.

[14] Multiplicabimini, Pagninus.

[15] Mastkälber, Luther.

[16] Pinguescetis. But the meaning is, "shall leap in wanton joy." The verb describes the prancing of horses in Hab. i, 8.

"And," in last clause, omitted in Luther and the Zürich, and after them by Coverdale.

MALACHI III.—*Continued.*

Verse	GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.
3.	Ye shal treade downe the ungodly, for they shalbe lyke the *asshes*[1] under the soles of youre fete in *the day*[2] *that I shal make*, sayeth the Lorde of hoostes.	And ye shal treade downe the wicked, for they shal be *dust*[3] under the soles of youre fete *in the day that I shal*[4] *do this* saith the Lord of hostes.
4.	Remembre the lawe of Moses my servaunt whych I *commytted*[5] unto him in Horeb for all Israel wyth the statutes & ordinaunces.[6]	Remember the lawe of Moses my servant, which I *commanded*[7] unto him in Horeb for all Israel with the *statutes and judgements.*[8]
5.	Behold I wyll send you Elias the prophet: before the commynge of the daye *of the greate*[9] *& fearfull Lorde.*	Beholde I will send you Eliáh the prophet before the comming of the *great and feareful*[10] *day of the* Lord.
6.	He shal turne the hertes of the fathers to *theyr*[11] children and the hertes of the chyldren to their fathers, *that I come not*[12] & smyte the earth with cursinge.	*And*[13] he shal turne the heart of the fathers to the children, & the hearte of the children to their fathers, *lest*[14] I come & smite the earth with cursing.

Several changes to the better were made in the Apocrypha. The earlier translations rested on the Latin text, but in the Genevan the Greek was rendered, as may be seen in the three first chapters of Tobit, where the third person of the narrative is changed into the first. The Prayer of Manasses, admitted by Rogers and kept in the Great Bible, is excluded. The Genevan translators of these books had a favourite guide in Beza.

[1] Cinis, Vulgate.

[2] Tages den ich machen will, Luther.

[3] Pulvis, Münster.

[4] Die quo ego agam, Leo Judæ.

[5] Befohlen, Zürich and Coverdale.

[6] Brüch und recht, Zürich.

[7] Demandavi, Münster.

[8] Præcepta et judicia, Vulgate; statuta et judicia, Pagninus.

[9] Coverdale after the Zürich.

[10] Vulgate, Luther, and the Latin versions.

[11] Coverdale.

[12] Dass ich nicht komme, Luther.

[13] Et, Vulgate and Latin Versions, "and" omitted in Coverdale after Zürich.

[14] Ne forte veniam, Vulgate, Pagninus and Münster.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THOUGH the English style of the Genevan version is so terse and idiomatic, there are occasionally terms with a Latin signification.

Thus, Psalm lxxvi, 4, "more bright and puissant than"; cxxxvi, 23, "our base estate"; "base" in the simple sense of low; cxli, 7, "when thou art beneficial unto me"—doest good unto me.

Mark v, 12, "and incontinently Jesus gave them leave"—immediately or straightway; viii, 31, "the son of man . . . shulde be reproved of the elders"—reproved in the Latin sense, *i.e.* rejected; xii, 42, "two mites which make a quadrin"—a farthing or a fourth part; xv, 26, "the title of his cause was written"—the process of law against him, the legal meaning of "cause" being still preserved.

Acts xx, 24, "But I passe not at all;" in our version, "none of these things move me"; xxv, 18, "they brought no crime of such things as I supposed"—"crime" for "accusation"; crimen in its legal meaning yet seen in the verb to criminate.

Rom. xiv, 16, "cause not your commoditie to be evil spoken"—your well-doing, your beneficence to others.

2 Cor. iv, 9, "he hath sparsed abroad"—the compound dispersed being now used instead of the simple verb.

1 Thess. iv, 15, "prevent," the earlier versions having "shall not come ere."

James v, 17, "subject to like passions."

1 John iii, 14, "translated from death unto life."

The Genevan introduced "pastour," in Eph. iv, 11, and in

some sections of Jeremiah, instead of "shepherds," the Latin term not occurring in the older versions, and perhaps suggested by the "pasteur" of the French translation. To the Genevan we are indebted for "synagogues," Ps. lxxiv, 8, where the term signifies the building; "houses of God" being the phrase in the Great Bible. In Luke xii, 29, Tyndale, after the Vulgate and Luther, had given the more literal rendering of the verb, "neither clyme up on hye," and it is kept in Coverdale and the Great Bible, and is vindicated also by Meyer; but the Genevan version gave the better sense, that of 1557 having "neither let your myndes wander about these speculations," and that of 1560 having "neither stand in doute," after Beza. The Genevan version gave the correct rendering in Acts xxvii, 9, "because also the feast was now passed," with an instructive note on the Hebrew Kalendar—the earlier versions having "because also that we had overlong fasted"; and in the same chapter, 13, "loosed nearer and sailed by Candie"; the Vulgate had regarded "Asson" as a proper name, and it was followed by Luther; while Erasmus took it as the accusative of direction. The Genevan often preserves the article, as in the series of clauses James ii, 14-24. There is also a very literal rendering, Acts x, 15, "the things that God hath purified, pollute thou not."

The Genevan gave our Authorized Version many felicitous renderings—in separate terms, and in the position of words. It brought in "sacrilege," Rom. ii, 22; and was followed by the Rheims, but not by the first edition of the Bishops'. Whitgift made what he reckoned a good point out of this Genevan translation. In his letter to the queen, written probably when he was Bishop of Worcester, when he is upholding the inviolable nature of church lands, and showing the sin and danger of laymen setting profane hands on them, he affirms "that there is such a sin as sacrilege, for if there were not it would not have had a name in Holy Writ, especially in the New Testament."

There are many old Saxon forms and words in the Genevan translation, as "hurly-burly" in the marginal note, Acts xxii, 23.

There are such strong modes of the preterite as "stale" for stole, 2 Kings xi, 2; "swomme," Acts xxvii, 42; "wanne," past of win, 1 Maccabees i, 20; "holpe" for helped, xviii, 27—he holpe them much; "tabernacle which the Lord pight"—pitched, Heb. viii, 2; "stroke himself with stones," Mark v, 5; and such terms as "giltieship came on all men," Rom. v, 18, in 1557, but in 1560, "the faute came on all men."

Many antique words and senses are used, as "garde," for girdle, Exod. xxviii. 8; "backe," for bat, Lev. xi, 19; "profit," in the sense of thrive—"the child Samuel profited and grewe," 1 Sam. ii, 26; "frailes of raisins," a basket, 2 Sam. xxv, 18; "disdain," in the sense of to be angry with; "want," in the sense of is wanting—"if he be lost and want," 1 Kings xx, 39; "plant"—"with the plant of my feet," 2 Kings xix, 24; "trade," meaning path, or what is trodden; "train up a child in the trade of his way," Prov. xxii, 6;[1] "chapmen," for merchants, Isaiah xxiii, 8, "whose chapmen are the noblest of the world"; "clout," Ezek. xvi, 4, "swadled in cloutes," used in the Great Bible, and adopted by the Bishops'; "term," in the sense of end, Ezek. xxii, 4; "Avoide, Satan, be gone," Matt. iv, 10; "scrippe," for bag or wallet, Matt. x, 10; "ought," as the past of owe, Matt. xvii, 28—"which ought him an hundred pence"; to "disease," to trouble, Mark v, 35; "cratche"—"and laid him in a cratche," Luke ii, 7, manger, rack, or crib, used often in old English (la saint crêche, holy manger); the word occurs also in Wycliffe[2]; "creeple," for cripple, Acts iii, 2; "fardels"—"trussed up our fardels," Acts xxi, 15—"made up our baggage," the verb occurring also in the note to Acts ix, 14, "make up thy bed," or "truss up thy couche"; "grieces," for steps—gressus, a grise or step, Acts xxi, 35; "pill"—2 Cor. xii, 17, "did I pill you?"—plunder you; "endeavoured myself with that which is before," Philip. iii, 13; "fulfil," fill to the full—"My God shall fulfil all

[1] Foxe, vol. viii, p. 12, speaks of Cranmer's "behaviour and trade of life toward God and toward the world," and the phrase occurs in Shakespear's Henry VIII, "stands in the gap and trade of more preferments."

[2] Other examples may be found in a useful little volume—"English Retraced," &c., Cambridge, 1865.

your necessities," Philip. iv, 19; "to fulfil their sins always," 1 Thess. ii, 16—fill up their sins to the full measure; "enforced," in the sense of endeavoured—"enforced the more to see your faces," 1 Thess. ii, 7; similarly in the Bishops', Rom. xv, 20, "I enforced myself"; "improve," in the sense of reprove or convince—"improve, rebuke, exhort," 2 Tim. iv, 2; "harberous," for hospitable, Titus i, 8.

There are also many old spellings, as brast, for burst; fet, for fetch; grenne, for gin; glain, for glean; roume, for room; charet, for chariot; carkess, for carcase; sowre, for sour; banket, for banquet; kowe, for cow; moe, for more; somer, for summer; perfite, for perfect; renowme, for renown; slouthful, for slothful; gheste, for guest; then, for than; physition; but it did not take "surgione" in Exodus xv, 26 from Coverdale and Matthew. We have yere, yeere, yeer, and year; eie and eye; anie and any; thei and they; twise and twice; mise and mice.

The genitive formed by -'s does not seem to be used at all. The word is simply spelled—as "brothers eye." Yet there are some terms of modern aspect. Ezra vi, 1, "librarie"; Job ix, 33, "umpire," the word still found in the margin of the Authorized Version; 2 Chron. xiv, "regency"—"Asa deposed Maachah his mother from her regencie" (margin). The prayer "learn me true understanding and knowledge," Psalm cxix, 66, in the Great Bible, becomes in the Genevan "teach me," also in Psalm xxv, 8. Such forms as moe, fet, and charet are found in the Authorized Version of 1611. The Genevan version sometimes does more than translate—it occasionally ventures to interpret, as in James i, 17, "shadowing by turning"; ii, 6, "oppress you by tyrannie"; 16, warm yourselves, fill your bellies"; v, 11, "what end the Lord made."

Though the Genevan version be so decided an improvement on the Great Bible, it has not wholly escaped some of the faults of that edition—for, like it, it brings in unwarrantable and supplementary clauses, not into the text indeed, but into the "margent," and prints them in italics, especially in the Acts of the Apostles. These supplements in the margin are preceded by this mark ‖: Acts x, 6, ‖ he shall speake words unto thee whereby thou shalt be saved and all thine house—taken from

xi, 14; xi, 17, "who was I that I could let God?" || Not to give them the Holy Ghost; xiv, 7, "and there was preaching the gospel," || insomuch that all the people were moved at the doctrine; so both Paul and Barnabas remained at Lystra; 10, "said with a loud voice," || I say to thee in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. These additions are suggested by Beza, in his notes, and by his references to some Greek codices and to the Complutensian Polyglott. One is taken directly from the text of the Great Bible. xiv, 18, "scarce refrained they the people that they had not sacrificed unto them," || but that they should go every man home, and while they tarried and taught, &c., again suggested by Beza's note referring to four MSS. and Bede; 19, "which when they had persuaded the people," || and disputing boldly persuaded the people to forsake them, for, said they, they say nothing true, but lie in all things—suggested also by Beza's note, the reading being found in some minuscules. xv, 29, "and from fornication," || and whatsoever ye would not that men should do unto you, do not to others—Beza's reference being to the Complutensian and his own MS. D. 34, "Silas thought good to abide there still," || and only Judas went—from the Great Bible and the Vulgate, and commended by Beza. But the whole 34th verse is suspicious, and the argument against its genuineness preponderates. 37, "And Barnabas," || would take John—after the better Greek reading; 35, "and when it was day, the governors," || the governors assembled together in the market, and remembering the earthquake that was, they feared and sent—found in Beza's note after MS. D.; xix, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus," || from five o'clock unto ten—referred to by Beza; xxx, 23, "bonds and afflictions abide me," || in Jerusalem—Beza's Latin version after D. But the Genevan translators follow their guide into positive error—error coined in support of coveted harmony with the other gospels—when they put into their text, Mark xvi, 2, "when the sunne was yet rising," and give in their margin "not risen," Beza having a lengthy note on the subject, and intimating that "not" may have been dropped by accident.

The famous "marginal notes" are very numerous, and no

little time and pains must have been spent in the composition of them, for many of them are original, while others are selected from Calvin and Beza. We believe, with George Joye, that a translation of Scripture is better without them, and, with Tyndale, that a "bare text," without commentary, is sufficient to make men "wise unto salvation"; and the text is all that God gave for this blessed purpose. But if notes are admissible, many of the Genevan notes are to be praised for their fitness and honesty. They have been often depreciated and condemned on account of their theology. That theology was, however, the favourite creed of the time, and a mere fraction of the notes is decidedly Calvinistic. The notes on Acts are chiefly historical, geographical, and inferential, as suggested by the narrative. Such notes might be expected especially in the margin of the Epistle to the Romans; but while there are over two hundred and fifty notes, not more than ten of them are unmistakable Calvinistic utterances.

The longer notes on the sixth chapter of Romans are as follows, there being nothing very distinctive about them :—

Verse

2. He dyeth to sinne in whome the strength of sinne is broken by the vertue of Christ, and so now liveth to God.
3. Which is, that growing together with him, we might receiue vertue to kill sinne, and raise vp our new man.
5. The Greke worde meaneth, that we growe vp together with Christ, as we se mosse, yvie, misteltowe, or suche like growe vp by a tre, and are nourished with the juice thereof.
„ If we by his vertue dye to sinne.
6. The flesh wherein sinne sticketh fast.
7. Because that being dead we can not sinne.
11. We may gather that we are dead to sinne, when sinne beginneth to dye in us: which is by the participation of Christ's death, by whome also being quickened we liue to God, that is to righteousness.
12. The minde first ministreth euil motiues whereby man's will is enticed: thence burst forthe the lustes, by them the bodie is prouoked, and the bodie by his actions doeth solicite the minde: therefore we commandeth at the least that we rule our bodies.

Verse

16. Shewing that none can be just which doeth not obey God.
18. It is a most vile thing for him that is deliuered from the slauerie of sinne to returne again to the same.
19. Leauing to speake to heavenlie things, according to your capacitie, I vse these similitudes of seruitude and fredome, that ye might the better vnderstand.
23. Sinne is compared to a tyrant which reigneth by force, who giueth death as an allowance to them that were preferred by the Lawe.

But the following note has a supralapsarian flavour about it, Rom. ix, 19:—

"As the onelie wil and purpose of God is the chief cause of election and reprobacion: so his fre mercie in Christ is an inferior cause of saluacion and the hardening of the heart, an inferior cause of damnacion." And even this note is given nearly word for word in the Bishops' with a change indicative of yet higher doctrine—for it says, "and the withdrawing of his mercy is the cause of damnation."

But their Calvinism now and then shows itself in a cowardly version, as in the note to the last clause of 1 Cor. ix, 27—"lest I myself should be reproved." "Reproved" might be allowed, for it then often meant rejected, but the note explains it as "reproved of men." Their theology bribed them to shrink from the plain meaning of final rejection. The Bishops' keeps the note, even though it gives the strong rendering, "lest I mee self shoulde be a cast away." Sometimes in textual difficulties the knot is cut, when it could not be loosed, as at Acts vii, 16—the note is, "It is probable that some writer through negligence put in Abraham in this place instead of Jacob, who bought this field, or by Abraham he meaneth the posterity of Abraham." The word Apocrypha stands alone on the top of the right hand page in the Apocryphal books, which are not thought worthy of being honoured by any distinctive headings.[1] The page in Mark that contains the story of the

[1] Other notes will be referred to in the account of the Hampton Court Conference.

daughter of Herodias has for its heading, "The inconvenience of dancing."

Referring to the Genevan version, and to "show the *animus* of the men," Cardwell selects the note to Rev. ix, 3, but he does not quote it fairly or fully. It says, "Locusts are false teachers, heretics, and worldly subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, &c."; but he leaves out the words "false teachers" in the first clause, and suppresses the conclusion, "which forsake Christ to maintain false doctrine."[1] What is remarkable, and not to be overlooked, these notes were so highly prized by the revisers, whose labours were meant to produce a rival Bible, that they adopted many of them into the margin of their new Bishops' Bible. Thus, in the Epistle to the Galatians, the marginal notes in the Bishops', with the exception of two alternative renderings, are every one of them taken from the Genevan; and the rendering in the Genevan text of the clause "which things are an allegory" becomes the note in the Bishops'.

The Anglo-Genevan Bible is much more correct than any of its predecessors, and ranks in value next to that in common use. It was also the great intermediate step between it and Tyndale's; both were made in exile; and, indeed, Coverdale's of 1535, and Matthew's of 1537 were likewise produced abroad. It was the self-imposed work of noble-hearted Englishmen, and they could not have spent their enforced leisure to better purpose. Their good scholarship and idiomatic English are alike apparent in many felicitous renderings which yet survive. Beza was their oracle, and he well merited the honour, for he was a masterly Hellenist, of great accomplishments and of refined tastes. His exegetical insight was clear and profound, unless when it was dimmed by the oblique lights of his theology. The English style of this version, made before the birth of Shakespeare, is clear, crisp, and vigorous—the honest and hearty speech of men who felt that their mother tongue needed not to be helped with elaborate combinations, nor studded with foreign terms, for its power lay in its simplicity, and its grandeur in its more familiar idioms. Beza's first

[1] Documentary Annals, vol. II, p. 12.

Greek New Testament did not appear till 1565; but they had Stephens' famous folio of 1550, and his fourth edition, published in the city of their adoption in 1551, and distinguished by the division of verses. These editions of Stephen were based upon the fourth edition of Erasmus (1527), which differs from his third chiefly in ninety changes or emendations introduced into the Apocalypse from the Complutensian Polyglott. The Genevan translators had, in this way, as good a text as could be supplied to them at the time. Various editions of the Hebrew Bible have been already referred to.[1]

[1] See vol. I, p. 209.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE cost of the first edition had been defrayed by the English congregation at Geneva, among whom was John Bodleigh, or Bodley, father of Sir Thomas Bodley, who founded the great library at Oxford that bears his name. John Bodley, on his return to England, received from the Queen a patent giving him the sole right, "and his assigns, for seven years, to print, or cause to be imprinted, the English Bible, with annotations, faithfully translated and finished in this present year of our Lord God, a thousand five hundred and threescore, and dedicated to us." All other printers were forbidden to print the volume; and any offender was to forfeit "to our use forty shillings of lawful money of England for every such Bible at any time so printed." This license was granted even though Cawood & Jugge had been already appointed her majesty's printers, and though she had issued an injunction that no one should print any book without license by herself or six of her Privy Council, and the Company of Stationers are enjoined to be obedient.[1] Under Bodley's care a folio edition printed at Geneva was published, with date 10th April, 1561, but without a printer's name. A New Testament having no printer's name was also published in 1560.

Time went on, and Bodley, wishing to publish another impression, applied for the extension of his patent. Application was made to Sir William Cecil, but as the Bishops' Bible was in hand, he consulted Archbishop Parker and Grindal, Bishop

[1] A license was necessary for the sale of a book. At this time Harrison printed two editions of the New Testament without license, and he was fined eight shillings. Herbert's Ames, vol. II, p. 883.

of London. Parker in a cautious spirit wrote to Secretary Cecil praising the version; himself and the Bishop of London also wrote on 9th March, 1565, wishing that Bodley might have twelve years longer term "on consideration of the charges sustained by him and his associates in the first impression," admitting that it might "do much good to have diversity of translations;" ending, however, by declaring that, though the license might so pass well enough, the Secretary had been warned that "no impression should pass but by their direction, consent, and advice." Such conditions, if annexed to the grant, would have seriously impeded the liberty of the press, and they had not been insisted on with reference to other Bibles in former years. The proposal thus miscarried, and Bodley's patent is heard of no more. It has been held by some that the patent was renewed at the solicitation of the primate against the opinion of the queen and Cecil. But there is no proof on the point. On the other hand, if Bodley got the patent he certainly did not use it; for no Genevan Bible was printed from this time till after Parker's death. Neal[1] states that the request was refused on account of the prefaces and notes.

Three other impressions in 1568, 1569, 1570,[2] had been printed in Geneva; but after the last of these, no other editions issued from this foreign press. As the Bishops' Bible had the favour of those in high place, though Cranmer had shown no such partiality to his own edition, the Genevan Bible was not printed in England for fifteen years after its first publication, or in fact, during Archbishop Parker's lifetime. When commending to the royal notice his own revision in 1568, he urges the queen's recognition of it, "not only as many churches want their books, as that in certain places be publicly used some translations which have not been laboured in this realm," the allusion being to imported Genevan Bibles. But after his death complaints of the scarcity of those Bibles, and of tardiness in the publication of them began to be heard. "If that Bible were such as no enemy could justly find fault with them, many men marvel, that such a work being so profitable,

[1] History of the Puritans, p. 110, vol. I, London, 1837.

[2] Printed by John Crespin.

should find so small favour as not to be printed again."[1] But in 1575 the Genevan Bible was first printed in England, in quarto and octavo. During the same year also, two editions of the New Testament of 1557 had been already printed, all three books by Vautroullier for Christopher Barkar.[2]

In 1576 the Genevan New Testament was edited by Laurence Tomson, under-secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham. The title was—

"The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, translated out of Greek by Theodore Beza. Whereunto are adjoined briefe summaries of doctrine upon the Evangelists and Acts of the Apostles, together with the method of the Epistles of the Apostles, by the said Theodore Beza. And also short expositions on the phrases and hard places taken out of large annotations of the foresaid author, and Joach. Camerarius, by P. Loseler Villerius.[3] Englished by L. Tomson. Together with the annotations of Fr. Junius upon the Revelation of St. John. London. Imprinted by Christopher Barkar dwelling in Powles Churchyeard, at the sign of the Tygres head."

There is a dedication to Walsingham and Hastings, with a vignette containing the crest of the former, a tiger's head;[4] and there is also a translation into English of Beza's address to Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé. There are not many variations in the text, but the marginal notes are different, certainly not so pithy and compact as those of the original Genevan, yet sometimes so numerous as to form a continuous comment, as in the Apocalypse. Tomson's revision has one peculiarity which sometimes apppears in the Authorized Version, that of translating the article in connection

[1] History of the Troubles at Frankfort, p. cxcv.

[2] Barker's royal patent included the printing of all Bibles and Testaments whatsoever in the English language of any translation, with notes or without notes.

[3] Loseler Villerius is the Latinized name of M. L'Oyseleur, seigneur de Villers. The title-page is vague and misleading.

[4] In a short time after this the printer changed his name to Barker, or about the period that he bought from Sir Thomas Wilkes a patent for printing Bibles. The tiger's head, the armorial bearing of Walsingham his patron, was set over his shop.

with some proper names or epithets by the demonstrative pronoun "that." Thus, in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, 1, "In the beginning was that word, and that word was with God, and that word was God"; 4, "and that life"; 5, "that light"; 8, twice the Authorized Version follows the same practice; 9, "that true light"; 14, "that word became flesh"; 20, "I am not that Christ," followed by the Bishops'; 21, "art thou that prophet?" repeated in the Bishops' and in the Authorized; 25, "that Christ," also in the Bishops', "nor that prophet," similarly in the Authorized; 29, "behold that Lamb of God"; 32, "I beheld that Spirit"; 33, "that Spirit"; 34, "that sonne of God"; 36, "that Lamb of God"; 41, "that Messias"; 45, "Jesus that sonne of Joseph"; 49, "that sonne of God, that king of Israel"; 51, "upon that sonne of man." This New Testament was very often reprinted with the Genevan Bible, and it appears in the Scottish edition printed by Andrew Hart, Edinburgh, 1610.

During 1583, the first year of Whitgift's primacy, the dedication to Elizabeth prefixed to twelve editions, seven of them published in London, was withdrawn in the twenty-fifth year of her reign; but the withdrawal, whatever might be its motive, did not hinder the sale. The original and catholic title of the epistle: "To our beloved in the Lord, the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland," found in ten editions, or down to 1582, was changed first into, "To the diligent and Christian reader," and then curtailed into, "To the Christian reader"; but such disparaging alterations did not mar the great popularity of the volume. It came at length to enjoy such a pre-eminence as to be read in churches, and to be used in pulpits; preachers took their texts from it, and quoted it in their discourses. It grew to be in greater demand than the Bishops' or Cranmer's. Ninety editions of it were published in the reign of Elizabeth, as against forty of all the other versions. Of Bibles as distinct from New Testaments there were twenty-five editions of Cranmer's and the Bishops'; but sixty of the Genevan. Yet Whitgift says in 1587: "Divers, as well parish churches as chapels of ease,

are not sufficiently furnished with Bibles, but some have either none at all or such as be torn and defaced, and yet not of the translation authorized by the Synod of Bishops."

The influence of Archbishop Grindal on his translation to the primacy has been sometimes supposed, as by Cardwell,[1] to have suddenly promoted the sale and use of Genevan Bibles; but the primate was long under the royal frown, and lived in privacy. Nor does Cardwell give any proof; for all that he says is, that though it had not been reprinted for several years previously, five different editions made their appearance within two years after Grindal's removal from York to Canterbury. He does not attempt to point out any actual connection of cause and effect. Parker, indeed, must have been indifferent, if not hostile, to a translation made in Geneva. He was so profoundly jealous of the returned exiles, and thought their theories so dangerous to Church and State, that he did all in his power to repress the free ventilation of their opinions. Such discussions might have been safe and healthy; for convictions repressed in utterance gather strength till they culminate in a perilous explosion. The primate's views were so well known that nobody ventured to print the Genevan Bible in his latter years. Not that he formally inhibited the publication of it; but his power, especially as bearing on the press, was felt to be a force not to be tampered with. Grindal had puritanical proclivities, and suffered for his refusal to obey in all things the self-willed daughter of Henry VIII—"supreme governor of the Church of England." But he did not show any undue partiality for the Genevan version. One of the questions issued by him to the ordinaries was whether each church had a copy of the English Bible in the largest volume; and he bequeathed to the church of his native parish of St. Bees his "fairest Bible of the translation appointed to be read in the church." Grindal's successor, Whitgift, who drew up the nine Lambeth articles, could have no objection to the Calvinistic marginal notes of the Genevan version. Another reason for its great popularity may be assigned with some plausibility. The queen did not love "prophesying," or even "preaching"; "it was

[1] Documentary Annals, vol. II, p. 12.

good," she said, to have "few preachers—three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the homilies to the people was sufficient." So that in London only about half the churches had preaching ministers. The people were, therefore, obliged to read the Bible for themselves; the notes of the Genevan version became doubly precious to them, and the circulation was in this way quickened and increased. The Bishops' Bible was not issued beyond 1606, five years before the date of the publication of the Authorized Version, though its New Testament was printed in 1608, 1614, 1615, 1617, 1618. But the Genevan Bible continued to be printed after 1611. Nay, in that very year it was issued in folio by Barker himself, the king's printer. Besides four editions of the New Testament, the Bible was reprinted in quarto in 1613 both at London and Edinburgh, again at London in 1614; with two editions in 1615, and a last issue in folio in 1616; it appeared in quarto, Amsterdam, in 1633, in folio 1640, with two more editions in 1644. In 1649 the Authorized Version was printed in quarto with the Genevan notes,[1] as if to promote the circulation. An edition of this nature was published in 1679 in folio, and as late as 1708 [2] and 1715; but the one of 1679 and the other two tell a falsehood on their title-page, "which notes have never been before set forth with this new translation." [3]

Thus the Genevan version continued to be used by many preachers and authors, even after the Authorized Translation was issued in 1611. It commended itself to many who, from education, position, and circumstances, might have cherished prejudices against it. Not only men of position and learning, but others of a wholly different stamp, were fond of it. Archbishop Abbot, when Master of University College, Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor, published in 1600 "An Exposition upon the

[1] London, printed by the Company of Stationers, with the title placed in the usual heart-shaped oval.

[2] These Bibles of 1679 and 1708 are the same book with only the alteration of date. The edition in 1679 had not sold, and in 1708 it was simply reissued.

[3] In 1578 was published a folio edition with a double version of the Psalms, the Genevan in Roman character, and the earlier version of the prayer book in black letter.

Book of Jonah," a series of lectures delivered in St. Mary's Church, and he uses throughout the Genevan version, and not the Bishops'. Dr. Walter Balcanquall, Dean of Rochester, in a sermon preached before the king, and published by his majesty's command, in 1632, uses the Genevan Bible. The "ever memorable" John Hales, of Eton, often quotes the same version. Dr. Skinner, in succession bishop of Bristol, Oxford, and Worcester, does the same in two sermons published by royal command in 1634. Dr. Gervase Babington, a pupil of Whitgift, and bishop in turn of Llandaff, Exeter, and Worcester, one of the members of the Hampton Court conference, uses the Genevan version in his sermons preached at court and in his theological works. Dr. Richard Montagu, Bishop of Norwich, and a great favourite of King James, often quotes from the same version in his "Acts and Monuments of the Church," 1642. The same practice is usually followed by Bishop Overall, one of King James' translators, in his "Convocation Book," which when first printed in 1689 carried the license of Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dillingham, another of King James' translators, continued to quote the Genevan after 1611.

It may be noted in passing that a vernacular Bible, such as the Genevan, was ever identified with Protestantism. Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, one of the "vilest men" that had ever been "exalted" in Scotland, hypocritically professed, when an exile in Paris in 1583, to be turning a Huguenot, and he asked Cobham, as a proof of his sincerity, "to bestow a Bible on him." And the feeling was similar in France—the French Bible was also associated with Protestantism. When the Huguenot town of Orange was taken by Catholic troops, ladies of good birth were given up to the soldiery, and then left in the streets without clothing, or their naked bodies were pasted over with leaves torn from "their Genevan Bibles."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE Genevan Bible soon after its publication came into general use in Scotland. Knox follows Tyndale's version in some of his earliest works, but after 1560 he adopts the Genevan, and so do the other divines and polemics, as Bruce, Rollock, and Ferguson—the last giving the words a Scottish form and spelling, as "quhilk" for which, "gif" for if, "behauld" for behold, "tiends" for tithes. Chapman and Millar were established as printers in Edinburgh about 1507 in the reign of James IV, but there were then no English Bible to put to press. Lekprevik was specially appointed king's printer, and was licensed to print Bibles in 1564, and the Genevan Bible in 1568; but he never printed a copy of the Scriptures. The people, however, were well supplied by importation from England and from the Continent. Tyndale's translation was never printed in Scotland, though it was extensively used. Lewis indeed says that a quarto edition of Tyndale was "very probably" printed in Scotland in 1536;[1] but the peculiar spelling of the edition to which he apparently refers seems to have led him to the baseless conjecture.[2] Some writers apparently translated for themselves, as Chaucer had done, and he is in this respect followed by Lyndsay in the "Complaynt of Scotland," 1548, and by Balnavis, one of the Lords of Session, in his "Confession of Faith," compiled the tame year and printed in 1584.

The leading reformers or Protestant nobles in Scotland held a meeting at Stirling in March, 1557, the year of the publication of the first Genevan Testament, and agreed

[1] History, p. 85, 2nd edition. [2] See vol. I, page 234.

to send a letter to Knox, who was then in Geneva. Another consultation was held in Edinburgh, and a "common band was made" on the 3rd of December, 1557—its central point being "with all diligence continually to apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God." They agreed also on two heads of policy, (1) "That the English Book of Common Prayer should be read publicly in the parish kirks on Sundays and other festivals, with the lessons of the New and Old Testament; and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same, and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read them. (2) That doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till afterward God shall move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." The Primate of St. Andrews longed for vengeance against these evangelical agitators, and summoned before him Argyle's preacher, who, secure in Inverary, and surrounded by Highland claymores and targets, laughed him to scorn. So foiled, he then fell upon a frail old man of eighty-two years of age, who read and preached his Bible, and sentenced him on the 20th April, 1558, to the fire. This doom pronounced on Walter Mill so stirred the city of St. Andrews that not a man would sell or lend a rope to bind him, or a tar-barrel to burn him. His martyrdom made such an impression against his prosecutors that he was the last victim of the Popish period. The nation was roused, images were torn away, and the great idol of St. Giles was first drowned in the Nor' Loch and then burned.

The reformers, well aware where their great strength lay, presented a petition to the Regent in 1558, and asked especially for these things—(1) "That as they were already allowed by law to read the Scriptures in their common tongue, it should also be made lawful to them to convene publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue. (2) That it should be lawful, if in their meetings any hard place of Scripture should be read, that any qualified persons in knowledge, being

present, should interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory and the profit of the auditory. (3) That the holy sacrament of baptism should be used in the vulgar tongue, and the god-fathers and church then assembled should be instructed in their duties. (4) That the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper should likewise be ministered in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds." The Regent-Dowager was French, and she at length replied in broken English, "Me will remember," she exclaimed, "what is protested, and me will put good order after this to all things that now be in controversy."[1] Such an answer from a daughter of the House of Guise was only a pretext.[2]

It seems surprising at first sight that no Scottish scholars or divines of that time or the period succeeding it set themselves to the work of Biblical revision or translation. There were men at that epoch quite qualified for the work. Knox was not without erudition, but his high vocation was one of public activity and national enterprise. His keen spirit was kept in a state of perpetual anxiety and excitement, for he believed his struggle to be with "spiritual wickedness in high places," and he was denied the privacy and leisure, without which the higher regions of scholarship cannot be reached. Andrew Melville was declared on leaving college to be the "best Grecian of any young master in the land," and at the age of twenty-one he was appointed regent in a foreign seminary. He was wont to travel with a Hebrew Bible "slung from his belt"; he studied Syriac at Geneva; and rose to be the learned reformer and principal of two native universities. It is matter of regret that he should have spent his varied and masculine powers in composing Latin verses[3] to rival those of Buchanan and Beza. George Buchanan translated the Psalms into Latin, and spent

[1] Lorimer's Scottish Reformation, pp. 204, &c. Walter Mill had been arrested and condemned in 1538, but escaped to Germany, where he remained twenty years.

[2] She was the widow of the Duke of Longueville, and was married to James V at St. Andrews in June, 1538.

[3] His Carmen Mosis and his Stephaniskion are well known, and of the second of these poems Scaliger said *nos talia non possumus.*

many years abroad lingering on the heights of Parnassus rather than on the hill of God. There were others, like Ales, Rollock, Gillespie, and Cameron, who delighted in Biblical study, but did not engage in the production of a vernacular Bible. In apology, however, it may be said that the pastorate in Scotland is an office of constant labour and travel, and that there are no rich benefices, prebendal stalls, or colleges with wealthy clusters of fellowships; and that in other days ministers had often to seek places of concealment, "rocks, dens, and caves," which were more in request than library or study; and that edicts and proclamations concerned them more than Greek or Hebrew; for the hand that might have turned over with busy care the pages of a lexicon or grammar had sometimes to apply itself to pike and musket.

During the reign of James V, and the minority of his daughter, there was a close connection between Scotland and France; and many Scotchmen, both Catholic and Protestant, studied at foreign universities. The Swiss States came also into friendly intercourse with Caledonian divines and reformers, and the name and fame of Calvin and his compeers were as great in Scotland as in his own country. The French tongue was familiarly spoken at the Scottish court, and was also well known by the better classes through the country. Therefore a Bible prepared and published at Geneva was sure to find a ready welcome, especially north of the Tweed, and the republication of it formed an epoch in Scottish ecclesiastical history.[1]

The Genevan version was originally published in the very year in which there met at Edinburgh the first Protestant General Assembly of the Kirk—in 1560. As it was the first

[1] The conversations which John Knox had with Queen Mary at Holyrood, and which are told by him in his history in broad Scotch, must have been conducted in French. Indeed many French terms are still preserved in the common speech of Scotland, as dour, obstinate; douce, quiet; aumrie, cupboard; braw, fine; bein, well-to-do (bien); gou, taste; ashet, meat-dish; jigot, leg of mutton; grozets, gooseberries; caraffe, a crystal water-jug; fashious, troublesome; ghean, a wild cherry; and haggis (hachis).

Bible issued in Scotland, the interesting story of the printing of it in the "antient kingdom" may be allowed to occupy a few pages. In March, 1575, Alexander Arbuthnot, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and Thomas Bassandyne, printer, presented a petition to the General Assembly, containing a proposal to print the English Bible. The Assembly at once assented to the request, and "anent this godly proposition it is agreed betwixt this present Assembly and the said Alexander and Thomas, that every Bible which they shall receive advancement for shall be sold in albes (sheets) for £4 13s. 4 pennies Scottis,[1] keeping the volume and character of the said proofs delivered to the clerk of the Assembly." Application was ordered to be made "to the Lord Regent's[2] grace" that the necessary ratification for printing be given, and that a reasonable "gratitude" be appointed to such "as should be employed for correcting of the said Bible, at the cost of the said Alexander and Thomas"; "the Kirk promesing to deliver the authentick copy, which they shall follow, to them, betwixt and the last day of April." Cautioners were found and solemnly pledged on behalf of the printers that the work should be "perfected betwixt and the last day of March, 1576." The "perfervidum ingenium" soon displayed itself, bishops, superintendents,[3] commissioners are "taken bound" at once to "do utter and exact diligence to raise the necessary funds at the hands of the lords, barons, and gentlemen of every parish"; and it is enjoined, "that every person that is provided of old, as well as of new, be compelled to buy a Bible to their parish kirk, and to

[1] The old Scottish currency was only the twelfth in value of sterling money, a pound Scots being only one shilling and eightpence, or twelve pounds Scots equal to one pound sterling.

[2] James Douglas, Earl of Morton, was elected Regent, 24th November, 1572, on the death of the Earl of Mar.

[3] The superintendents are distinguished from bishops, as their office was only a matter of "temporary expedience" to fill up vacant parishes. They could not act of their sole authority in admitting ministers; and if they fell into sin, they were liable to the same sentences as their brethren. They were admitted themselves as other ministers were, their jurisdiction was wholly regulated by the synods, and they were responsible to the General Assembly for all parts of their conduct.

advance therefor the price foresaid, and the said prices to be collected and inbrought by the said bishops, superintendents, and visitors within each bounds and shire, within their jurisdiction, betwixt and the last day of June." At the next Assembly, in August, 1575, the work of printing and correcting was spoken of, the printers' statement being, "Anent the supplication given in to the General Assembly by Alexander Arbuthnot, making mention that whereas it is not unknown to your wisdoms, what great work and charge I have enterprised, concerning the imprinting of the Bible, for accomplishing whereof your wisdoms understood that the office of a corrector, his diligence and attendance therein, is most necessary: and therefore I humbly desire your wisdoms to request my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline to licentiate Mr. George Young, his servant, whom I think most fit to attend upon the said work of correctorie, to concur and assist me during the time of my travell, to the effect that the notable work begun and enterprised may be consummat and perfected in all points. The charges and expenses of his travels I shall reasonably deburse conforme to your wisdoms' discretion, so that the work may pass forward and be decent, as the honesty of the same requires." Letters of privilege or a license from the Privy Council were obtained June 30, authorizing Arbuthnot and Bassandyne "to prent or cause be imprentit, set furth and sauld within this realm, or outwith the samen, Bibles in the vulgar Inglis toung, in haill or in partes, with ane calendar for ten years, and discharging all his hienes lieges, that nane of them tak upon hand, to prent or cause be imprentit in ony carrecture or letter, translation or volume quhatsumever, sell or cause be sauld, brocht hame, or distribute to ony person or persones (except with consent of the said, &c.), providing they sell every bibill according to the prices appointed" (viz., £4, 13s. 4d.) Bassandyne[1] had died before the publication; and Arbuthnot, whose name alone appears on the title-page of the Old Testament, got power to print during his lifetime ordinary books, but special license to print and sell Bibles "in the

[1] His name alone stands on the title-page of the New Testament which was finished in 1576.

vulgar Inglis, Scottes, and Latine tounges." Thus the publication of this folio Bible was wholly an enterprise of the Church; for though the Regent Morton who issued the license, advanced some money to the printers, that money was only the sums collected in the various parishes according to the agreement. "allowed and authorized by the Regent's grace."

The New Testament was ready in 1576, and the whole Bible in 1579:

"The Bible & Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde & Newe Testament, translated according to the Ebru & Greeke, & conferred with the beste translations in divers languages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the hard places of the Holy Scriptures & other things of great importance, mete for the godly reader. Printed in Edinburgh, Be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kingis Majestie, dwelling at ye Kirk of Field, 1579. Cum gratia & privilegio regiæ majestatis."

The title-page has the royal arms of Scotland in the centre. The Bible was dedicated to the "Richt Excellent, Richt heich & michtie Prince James the Saxt, King of Scottis . . . &c.;" "From Edinburgh at our General Assemblie, the tent day of Julie, 1579." The Dedication, which was approved by the Assembly, speaks with honest plainness to the king—who was then about fourteen years of age, and there is a ring of gladness in the words addressed to him: "Certainlie we have great occasion baith to glorifie the gudenes of God toward this countrie, & also heichlie to extol your heines most godlie purpose & enterprise. O quhat difference may be seen between thir dayes of light when almaist in every private house the buike of God's law is red & understand in our vulgarie language, & that age of darknes when skarcelie in ane haill citie (without the clostres of monks & freires) culd the buke of God anes be founde, & that in ane strange tongue of Latin not gud, but mixed with barbaritie, used & red be fewe & almaist understand or exponit be nane; & quhen the false namit clergie of this realme, abusing the gentle nature of your hienes maist noble gudshir[1] of worthie memorie, made it an capital crime to be punished with the fyre to have or read the New Testament

[1] Grandfather—grandmother being gud-dame.

in the vulgar language; & to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been the detestable name of a pernicious sect, they were called New Testamenters." The impression now published was intended chiefly "to the end, that in every paroch kirk there suld be at least ane thereof kepit, to be called the common buke of the kirke, as a maist meet ornament for sik a place, & a perpetual register of the Word of God, the fountaine of all true doctrine, to be made patent to all the people of everie congregation as the only richt rule to direct & govern them in matters of religion, as also to confirm thame in the trueth receavit, & to reform and redress corruptions whensoever they may crepe in." Due honour is also given to the learned and laborious translators.

Matters were not done by halves; for an Act of Parliament was passed enacting that every householder worth 300 merks of yearly rent, and every yeoman or burgess worth £500 stock, was to have a Bible and Psalm Book in the vulgar language, under the penalty of ten pounds. This enactment was no dead letter, for "searchers" were appointed to visit all dwellings, and report as to their want or possession of a Bible. In 1580 "the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh issued a proclamation commanding all the householders to have Bibles," under the pains contained in the Act of Parliament, and advertising them that the Bibles are to be "sauld in the merchant buith of Andrew Williamson, on the north syde of this burgh, besyde the Meill Mercatt." On the 11th of November, 1580, "Alexander Clerk, of Balbery, provost, &c., ordanis the haill neighbours of this burgh to be callit in before the bailies by their quarters for not keeping of the said Act to be adjugeit in the unlaw therein contenit, & for eschewing of all fraude, ordanis sic as sall bring their bybills & psalm buiks to hafe their names writtin & subscryvit be the clerk: & therefter the buiks deliverit to them." On the 16th of November, there was an order to pursue all persons "that has incurrit the payne of the Act for not having ane bybill or psalme buik." The printer had been slow in delivering copies, and the patience of the General Assembly was exhausted, so that, in July, 1580, they "propone to his majesty & council

that order be taken with Alexander Arbuthnot that the Bibles may be delyverit according to his receipt of money from every paroch, & to that effect that he & his severties (sureties) may be commandit be letters of horning for delyverance thereof, & na suspensioun to be grantit without the samyn be delyverit."[1]

The Bible thus published in Scotland with all this array of civil and ecclesiastical prerogative, is the Genevan edition of 1561; the second folio edition being "the authentic copy" supplied by the General Assembly. The Scottish printer had not sufficient Greek types,[2] and under Rev. xii, 18, he notes, "These Greke characters chi, xi, st [that is, χ ξ ς] signifie 666." Wodrow, the well known historian, vaguely and doubtfully says of this Bible: "I believe the Genevan translation was what they kept nearest to." But it was not an approximation at all—it was an exact reprint of the second edition, with all the notes and facsimiles of the cuts and maps, and the French terms attached to them, as Aquilon, midi, orient, occident. In the first edition of 1560 the supplementary words were printed in italics, but in the second edition they were put within brackets. This plan is followed in the Edinburgh reprint, but the printer had not apparently procured a sufficient number of bracket marks in time, for none are used in the Gospels; they appear first in the Acts of the Apostles. The proper names are furnished with accents, after Pagninus, as Heuáh, Iaakób,

[1] "Letters of horning" are, in Scottish law, a formal charge signed with the "Signet," and delivered to a debtor, commanding him to pay within a limited period; and if, at the expiry of such a term, he has not paid, an officer goes to the market cross of the burgh, and after three peals of a "horn" or trumpet, proclaims him a rebel, and then he may be put in prison not formally for debt, but for disloyalty. The process, changed by 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 114, is not wholly obsolete.

[2] In 1524, when Wynkyn de Worde printed a small book by Wakefield, on the study of Arabic and Hebrew, he was obliged to omit the third part, as he had exhausted his Hebrew types. Hebrew types were not used in Scotland till about 1599. Lekprevik the printer, in a book published by him in 1563, says of certain Greek words, "I had no characters to express them," and therefore he employed some "scollers" to write them with a pen on the sheets.

Izhák, Hábel, Káin, as in the first edition. The calendar and chronological notes were prepared and subscribed by Robert Pont, one of the ministers of the West Kirk, who was also one of the Lords of Session. One serious misprint of the "copy" was corrected—"Blessed are the place makers" for "peace makers," Matt. v, 3. There was also another error of the press in the contents of Luke xxi, "Christ condemneth the poor widow," for "commendeth."

The publication of the Genevan version at Edinburgh without any change in orthography, or any assimilation of its style to Scottish usage, shows that at this period, as at earlier times, the English of the south was quite intelligible to all the educated population of Scotland; and the fact is the more remarkable from the contrast between the text of the Bible and the distinctly Scottish dialect and spelling of the dedication to the young king. When the Earl of Murray appeared before Queen Elizabeth, in 1565, he spoke in Scottish, which her majesty interpreted to the French ambassador. No other edition of the Bible was published in Scotland for the next thirty years, or till 1610. In 1589 John Gibson purchased from Gilbert Masterton a patent which had been held by Archdeacon Young, of St. Andrews, giving liberty for printing within the realm, or causing to be printed within or without the realm, "the Bible in our own vulgar tongue, with the Psalm book, the double and single Catechise, with the Prognostications."[1] This patentee had "ane new psalme buik" "on his awin grit charges, and be his privat mean and devyse," printed at Middleburgh, in Flanders; and he received "free and only license and liberty to bring hame and sell the said impression at convenient prices, for seven years." Bibles from abroad were by enactment at this time freely imported into

[1] The name given to the tongue of the Island was English, and the First Book of Discipline, 1560, says, under the Nynte Heade, "We think it a thing most expedient and necessarie that everye churche have a Bibill in Englische." Yet even Dibdin calls this first Edinburgh reprint a Bible in the Scotch language, a proof that he had never inspected it. Edwards in his "Libraries," p. 438, complains of Dibdin's carelessness, and quotes a similar censure by Mr. Panizzi, lately of the British Museum.

Scotland, and were not to "pay the ordinary customs charge." These foreign editions were prized as being of good print and paper. In 1601, through Andro Hart and his partners, an edition was printed at Dort; and Hart printed in folio another Bible at Edinburgh in 1610—the Genevan version of the Old Testament, and Laurence Tomson's edition of the New. The edition of Hart was highly prized; and other and subsequent editions, to command a ready sale, inserted in their title-page, "Conform to the edition printed by Andro Hart." Two handsome folios, printed at Amsterdam in 1640 and in 1644, make this assertion—"According to the copy printed in Edinburgh by Mr. Andrew Hart, in 1610."

There had even been at one time some sort of overture made for a revision of the Genevan version. The records of the General Assembly which met at Burntisland, in May, 1601, contain the following minute:—"It being meinit be sundrie of the brethren, that thair was sundrie errors that meritit to be correctit in the vulgar translation of the Bible, the Assemblie hes concludit as follows: first, anent the translatione of the Bible, that every ane of the brethrene quha hes best knawledge in the languages, employ their travells in sundrie pairts of the vulgar translatioune of the Bible that neides to be mendit, and to conferre the same together at the nixt Assemblie." But the proposal never took effect.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE Genevan version printed in England, or imported from the Continent, was the favourite volume in Scottish families, and kept its place for many years after the publication of the Authorized Version. Its very name endeared it to them, for the divines of Geneva ranked next to the "Twelve," in the loyal and loving esteem of Scottish Protestants. Knox had ministered in that city, Calvin and Beza had taught and preached in it. It was only natural that, as late as 1629, Zacharie Boyd should use the Genevan version in his "Last Battle of the Soul." Even those who were willing to conform to Episcopacy at the king's bidding, and to vindicate his high-handed procedure, were not disposed to accept his Bible; for its long use had hallowed the Genevan version to them. The diocesan synod of St. Andrews enacted, in 1611, the very year of our Authorized Version, "Forasmeikle as it was thought expedient that there be in every kirk ane commoune Bible, it was concludit that every brother sall urge his parochiners to buy ane of the Bybles laitlie printed be Andro Hart; and the brother failying either to cause buy ane of the Bybles as said is, or ellis to gif in his exact diligens, sall pay at the next synod, 6 lib money," *i. e.*, 10s. shillings sterling. This decision is the more remarkable, as at this very period Episcopacy was established, and the spiritual supremacy of the king was acknowledged; yet the older translation was formally preferred, when it must have been known that another was on the eve of publication, under royal patronage, for the sister community in England.

Sir James Sempill, of Beltrees, in a book dedicated to the

king, significantly called "Sacrilege Sacredly Handled," meant "for the Churches of North Britaine, 1619," uses the Genevan version. Dr. Guild, chaplain to Charles I, in his earliest works, published at London and Aberdeen, 1615, quotes from the Genevan version. Bishop Lindsay, of Brechin, inserts into the title-page of his "True Narration," published in 1621, as its motto, Prov. xxiv, 31, in the Genevan translation; and this narration is an apology for the Assembly which met at Perth, in 1618, and enacted the notorious "five articles," containing many characteristic elements of the Episcopalian ritual. Bishop Cowper, of Galloway, whose collected works were printed in London, 1629, uses the Genevan version. James Baillie, A.M., preached at Westminster a sermon on "Spiritual Marriage," and dedicated it to no less than nine Scottish peers, and seven other courtiers, and he uses the Genevan version. So does Struthers, a minister of Edinburgh, and one noted for his servility, in treatises published by him in 1628. Wischart, of Restalrig, in his "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," follows the same practice; as also does Bishop Abernethy, of Caithness, in his "Physike for the Soule," London, 1638.[1] It is scarcely to be wondered at that the Alexander Henderson who presided at the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638, and, by a sweeping act, declared Episcopacy overthrown in Scotland, should have used the Genevan version. So late as 1640, an edition of the Genevan Prose Psalms was printed at Edinburgh.

The vitality of the Genevan Bible was wonderful. It had commended itself to general acceptance, for it had been made by earnest and scholarly men, driven by persecution out of England; made in a city revered as the home and metropolis of the popular theology; and it was also a better translation than any of its rivals. It did not die under episcopal frown, nor was its circulation promoted to any extent by episcopal patronage. The people loved it for itself and its history. It was a contemporary of the Great Bible for nine years, and outlived it; and of the Bishops' for nigh forty years, and

[1] Memorial from the Bible Societies of Scotland, by Principal Lee, p. 90, &c. Edinburgh, 1824.

outlived it too for more than a quarter of a century. The Great Bible was not issued beyond 1569, nor the Bishops' after 1606; but the Genevan survived all these changes. Sometime in the reign of Charles I, the Genevan version, of which about one hundred and sixty editions had been published, sank gradually into disuse throughout the whole country. The king's printer issued impressions only of the Authorized Version which was now deservedly growing into favour, and Genevan Bibles had to be imported. Archbishop Laud, who had from his youth a great dislike of this version, and had shown it strongly when president of St. John College, forbad the importation of copies. This prohibition was one of the special charges brought against him on the trial which ended in his execution. His reply was that by the importation of books it was feared that "printing would be carried out of the kingdom, for those books were better print, better bound, better paper, and for all the charges of bringing sold better cheap."[1] Though King James had scornfully depreciated the Genevan notes at the Hampton Court Conference, the people relished them greatly, and, according to Fuller, when the version was disappearing, they complained that they "could not see into the sense of Scripture for lack of the spectacles of those Genevan annotations." The Genevan Bible having done its work at length passed away, making room for another version in so many respects its superior.

The Genevan version was attacked about the year 1611 by a Dr. Howson in a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, his charge being that it contained misinterpretations leading to the denial of the Divinity and Messiahship of Jesus Christ, and thus favouring Arianism and Judaism. The accusation is utterly groundless, and must have been the result of strange misconception and prejudice. Dr. Abbot suspended the preacher for the publication of such a libel. During the trial a letter from Thomas Bodley "in defence and praise" of the translators was read "from St. Marie's pulpit." This most popular of the

[1] The phrase occurs in the Authorized Version, 2 Esdras xvi, 21, "victuals shall be good cheape," after the Bishops', the Genevan, the Great Bible, and Coverdale.

older versions was assaulted by Gregory Martin, in his "Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by heretickes of our daies, especially the English sectaries, in their English Bibles, used and authorized since the time of the Schism."[1] He affirmed that it was professedly translated from Beza, and thus gave the lie to its title-page, which has "translated according to the Ebrue and Greke." His own admission that in many places they dare not follow Beza is a proof that his charge cannot be sustained, for it is, as Fulke calls it, "an impudent slander." He asserts of the English heretics that Beza is their "chief translator and a captain among them, whom they profess to follow in the title of their New Testament, anno 1580, and by the very name of their Geneva Bibles."[2] The accusation is baseless, for the English refugees revised Tyndale and the Great Bible with all the helps in their power, and all the assistance which they could procure by consultation and correspondence. Again, this Bible is accused by Martin of concealing the truth when it says only "The Epistle to the Hebrews," omitting the name of Paul; but the prefatory note gives the reason, the want of uniform evidence, both of Greek writers and Latin, that Paul was the writer; and they are bold and learned enough to say that if it be Paul's, "it is not like"—"yea, seeing the Spirit of God is the author thereof, it diminisheth nothing of the autorite, although we know not with what penne he wrote it." The opinion of Geddes is similar to that of Martin, and he adds "that it was accompanied with notes by Beza, and hence obtained his name." But who ever heard of the Genevan being called Beza's Bible? though certainly Gregory Martin again and again stigmatizes the English Protestants by the name of Bezites.[3] The opinion of Father Simon[4] need scarcely

[1] Rhemes, 1582.

[2] The allusion is to Tomson's revision of 1576, the title-page of which somewhat strangely announces that it is "translated out of Greeke by Theod. Beza." In 1580, Tomson's version was printed twice, and many times afterwards.

[3] Prospectus. Mason Good's Memoirs of Dr. Geddes, p. 125, London, 1803.

[4] Critical Enquiries (English translation), p. 231, London, 1684.

be noticed, that the Genevan is the French Bible printed at Geneva, "the which was made English." The influence of Olivetan's version is now and then apparent, but it is not specially frequent or prominent.

Lastly, a peculiar criticism on the Genevan translation came from a very unexpected quarter, the author being John Hamilton, a relation or close friend of him of Bothwellhaugh, who, after being formally pardoned by the Regent Murray on the field of Langside, killed him within a brief period by a cowardly shot from a window in Linlithgow, the house being owned by one Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews,[1] and the musket borrowed from another, the Abbot of Arbroath. Mary Stewart, the royal sister of the murdered man, conferred a pension on the assassin.[2] Hamilton was a secular priest, and from his perpetual wanderings, intrigues, and conspiracies, he got the name of the "Skirmisher." He was one of the familiars of the Duke of Alva in his deeds of treachery and blood. He had been employed in the murder of Coligny; and Philip II for some time thought of him as one quite fitted in temperament and experience to "look after" the Prince of Orange; but his character was so notorious that his presence would have aroused suspicions. As the curé of St. Cosme in Paris, he was a prominent member of the League, and was heart and hand, too, in the sudden and illegal arrest of the president and jurist Barnabé Brisson, and his two fellow-judges Larcher and Tardif; in their execution, in the Petit Chatelet, two hours after their seizure; and in the exposure, after the tragedy, of their dead bodies in the Place de Grêve. He became rector of the University of Paris in 1584, and published several treatises in defence of "halie kirk," in which are found some superstitions of the lowest and most ludicrous kind about the arts and wiles and common disguises of the Evil One. Bothwellhaugh, three years after, was willing to undertake the assassination of the

[1] John Hamilton, archbishop, supposed to have planned the assassination of Darnley and of the Regent Murray, was seized at the capture of Dumbarton Castle, and hanged at Stirling, April, 1571. "Assassination," as Mr. Froude says, "was an accomplishment in the family."

[2] Labanoff, vol. III, p. 341.

Prince of Orange, and he suggested two persons for the purpose. If there be no mistake about the name, the Skirmisher, when he felt the cause of Mary to be failing, sunk so low at length, that he sent from Brussels to the Regent Morton, "offering to do service either there with the Duke of Alva or with the Queen of Scots."[1] He had managed for some years the secret correspondence between Mary Stewart and Alva. A little volume of his compositions was published at Louvain in 1600, and a copy is in the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh.[2] Among them are some remarkably beautiful prayers, and some hymns above mediocrity. In the same volume, the work of one of the most daring of "bloody and deceitful men," is a series of remarks on the Genevan version, suggested by its popularity in his Protestant fatherland. His censure is headed, "Corruption of twenty-three passages of the Scriptures be the ministers' adulterous translations thereof in their Scottis Bible, and the causes why they have corruptit ye same." The places objected to are either in translations or notes connected with Popish dogma or ritual; the notes "obscuring or denying Christ's pretious bodie and bluid; maintaining heresie agains prayers for the daid and purgatorie; denying tradition, and affirming that Christ teacheth by his verie voce al thingis necessaires for treu religion." The critic has special objection to the Genevan note on Luke i, 28 and 42, for it defames the immaculat mother of God "whom they blaspheme as a sinner lyk uther wemen, and denies that the halie virgine Marie was blissit in hir self, and be the halines of hir awin godlie lyf." Notes against virginity, the sacrament of marriage, and the power of the priesthood, are also keenly reprobated, as also the rendering of "elders" for priests in James v, 14, "secret" for sacrament in Ephesians v, 32. Zechariah ix, 11, 12 is selected for strong censure, because neither in translation nor

[1] Froude's History, vol. IX, p. 577, &c.

[2] "A Facile Treatise, contenand, first, ane infalible rule to discern Treu from False Religion: nixt, a Declaration of the Nature, Number, Verteu, and Effects of the Sacraments: togidder with certain Prayers of Devotion, &c., dedicat to his Soverain Prince King James the Saxt. Louvain, 1600."

notes is the old idea of Jerome and Cyril brought out, that the pit or lake is the *limbus patrum*, or, as Hamilton puts it, "it is meant to hyd the deliuerance of the patriarches and uthers, just men in the auld law, out of the lymbe of the fathers, callit in the Euangile Abraham's bosume, be Christ's descension into hel." The same objection is made to Acts ii, 27. Exodus v, 1 is selected for blame, because the translation "offer a sacrifice" has not been adopted "for God chieflie requires sacrifice of his treu worschipers." The note on Isaiah xix, 19, in reference to the altar of the Lord in the land of Egypt, is condemned as hiding the "external sacrifice of the Messe, whilk thay cal ane idole." Acts xiii, 23 is said to be corrupted "be their fals marginal note"—referring to popular election of ministers; as also the note to Malachi i, 11, where incense is explained by spiritual service. The "Skirmisher"[1] chose an unfamiliar beat when he laid aside cord, dagger, and disguise, and resorted to criticism, for it is utterly irrelevant; and he should have shown not the Protestant prepossessions, but the unscholarly failures of the Genevan versionists. He concludes his diatribe with a fierce warning: "Therefore, I beseek you, dissaivet people, to burn your corrupt Scots Bible in the fire, that your sauls be not tormentit with the intolerable pains of the fires of hell. This was the only cause why our Catholic bishops forbade the reading of the English Bible, that the corruptions thereof should not infect their sauls to eternal perdition."[2] It may be added that Hamilton returned to Scotland, and after finding "lurking holes" for some time, he was, in 1609, seized, and sent up to the Tower in London, where he died.

[1] Bannatyne, Knox's secretary, notes in his "Memorials," p. 51, "In the meantime there came from Flanders a little pink, and in it two gentlemen, with Mr. John Hamilton, called the Skirmisher, fra Duke d'Alva."

[2] Burton's History of Scotland, vol. V, p. 267; vol. VI, p. 271. Life of John Hamilton, a secular priest, by Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. Annals of Scotland, vol. III, p. 447. Edinburgh, 1819.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.

"LORD, Thy word abideth,
And our footsteps guideth;
Who its truth believeth
Light and joy receiveth.

"When our foes are near us,
Then thy word doth cheer us,
Word of consolation,
Message of salvation.

"When the storms are o'er us,
And dark clouds before us,
Then its light directeth,
And our way protecteth.

"Who can tell the pleasure,
Who recount the treasure,
By Thy word imparted
To the simple-hearted?

"Word of mercy, giving
Succour to the living;
Word of life, supplying
Comfort to the dying!

"Oh that we, discerning
Its most holy learning,
Lord, may love and fear Thee,
Evermore be near Thee!"

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

QUEEN MARY died on the 17th of November, 1558, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth. The earlier part of Elizabeth's reign was beset with many difficulties. Old things were passing away, and it required delicate handling to settle the new order amidst doubts and distractions, deepened by political complications between Spain and France. The population was divided at the same time into hostile forces; excesses of conservatism arrayed in self-defence on the one hand, and excesses of innovation battling to realize themselves on the other. The re-organization of the Church had been wondrously helped by the unusual number of vacancies on the episcopal bench. Only five of Edward's bishops, English and Irish, had survived the dark and disastrous reign of his sister; and Cardinal Pole, who died on the same day with his royal mistress and kinswoman, had left several sees unfilled, so that at the opening of Elizabeth's first parliament only ten spiritual peers were present. There were a dozen dioceses without mitred heads, and according to De Feria, the Spanish ambassador, the Queen set over them *ministros de Lucifer*. Canterbury was filled by the consecration, at Lambeth, on the 17th December, of Matthew Parker, who had been one of Queen Anne Boleyn's chaplains and Dean of Lincoln, and he quietly succeeded Cardinal Pole, as if nothing had happened out of the usual course. His opinions on ecclesiastical matters suited Elizabeth and Cecil, and though he was a married dignitary, he had been so colourless a reformer that he easily escaped under the reign of Mary. When he was Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, he enacted that all students

taking the benefit of "Billingford's hutch" should offer prayer for the benefit of Billingford's soul; and he provided that the Duchess of Norfolk should be similarly remembered. He became, in course of time, as bitter against the "prophesyings"[1] as his royal mistress. He was a calm and erudite man of moderate opinions, and he regulated with no little skill the affairs of the church of which he was the ecclesiastical head; his motto being, "I take some heed not to extend my sleeve beyond mine arm." The choice of Parker was not only what is called a safe one, but it was also one of necessity; for among the able men around the throne, Jewel had in a moment of weakness abjured, Sandys had espoused the cause of Lady Jane Grey, Grindal was deficient in tact and firmness in the management of men and measures, Nowell was disliked by the queen, Lever, her favourite preacher, was a pronounced puritan, and Cox had been identified with the "Troubles" at Frankfort.[2]

The English Bible had slipped out of public view in the time of Mary, and though in her reign no edition of it was printed, many copies must have been secreted, for spies were prowling about, and the open possession and study of it involved individuals and households in immediate suspicion and jeopardy.[3] The people were forbidden to read in their mother tongue the book which opened up salvation to them, and revealed those promises and hopes on which they rested their eternal well-being. Such things they might hear from the lips of a priest, but they were not to read for themselves the words of Evangelists or Apostles. They might listen to the sermon, but they durst not gaze upon the text. They might kneel before the crucifix, but were on no account to pause and pray over the story of the Gospels, and be in this way brought into living sympathy with Him that died for them. Sir Thomas More had admitted that "four-tenths of the people could never read English," yet though many persons had no educa-

[1] Yet Lord Bacon highly eulogizes the prophesyings, and describes their nature and benefit. Works, vol. VII, p. 86, ed. B. Montague.

[2] See page 4.

[3] Thus a Bible of 1550 has on the fly-leaf, "Found in the hay-loft at Canterbury, October 10th, 1718."

tion at all, not a few of the uneducated class were well instructed in the truths of Scripture. It is told of Sir Walter Raleigh's mother, that in the perilous reign of Mary she went to visit a poor woman, named Agnes Prest, lying in Exeter jail, and soon to be martyred at Southernhay, and that the prisoner spoke to her so touchingly and ably against transubstantiation that she was confounded, saying, in her own record of the interview, "I was not able to answer her—I who can read, and she cannot." According to report, also though the woman was "of such simplicity, and without learning, you could declare no place of Scripture but she could tell you the chapter."[1] Want of common schooling kept this woman from reading Scripture; but Foxe[2] tells of another woman who, in the midst of poverty and darkness, felt the light, life, and riches of the divine Word. Joan Waste had been born blind, but had learned to support herself by knitting "hosen and sleeves," and occasionally helping her father to "twine ropes." Having gathered a little money, and bought a Bible, she got some friends to read it to her, and at various times she gave a penny to others to induce them to gratify her. Her great knowledge of Scripture became at length so notorious that she was "convented" before the bishop, and on being examined at length, she was condemned, and burned at Derby in 1556, being about twenty-two years of age.

But on the elevation of Elizabeth to the throne, the book which had been under ban for five years and four months started again into prominence. As the Princess Elizabeth, and when she was a virtual prisoner at Woodstock, in danger of her life, she was a pious student of the blessed book. Her own peculiar words, inscribed by herself on a MS. copy of the Epistles used by her are given thus: "August. I walke many times into the pleasant fieldes of the Holy Scriptures, where I plucke up the goodliesome herbes of sentences by pruning: eate them by reading: chawe them by musing: and laie them up at length in the hie seate of memorie by gathering them together: that so having tasted theire sweeteness I may the

[1] Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Edward Edwards, vol. I, p. 19. London, 1868.

[2] Foxe, vol. VIII, p. 247.

lesse perceave the bitternéss of this miserable life." In the sixteenth year of her reign we find, too, she was in possession of "Oone Gospell booke covered with tissue, and garnished on th' onside with the crucifix, and the queene's badges of silver guilt, poiz with wodde, leaves, and all, cxii. oz."[1]

At length, when her sister had died, and she was leaving the Tower, on the day before her coronation, she looked up to heaven, and offered the following thanksgiving: "Oh Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give thee most humble thanks that thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day; and I acknowledge that thou hast dealt wonderfully and mercifully with me. As thou didst with thy servant Daniel the prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the den, from the cruelty of the raging lions, even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen."

According to traditional story, when, after offering this prayer, she went through London in procession, and was passing the "Little Conduit in Cheape," a pageant was prepared to salute her, for "Time" was placed there, and "Truth, the daughter of Time," holding in her hand the *verbum veritatis*—an English Bible—which she delivered to the Queen. Her Majesty received the gift with royal graciousness and kissed it. Then "thanking the city for their goodly gift," and pressing it to her bosom, she said that she would "diligently read therein." A person in the crowd, as if suddenly recollecting who it was that first gave the English Bible to the nation, lustily cried out, "Remember old King Harry the Eighth!" and "a gleam of light passed over Elizabeth's face" at the mention of her father's name in this connection. Lord Bacon also records that hints were given to her to release certain prisoners, as the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul, long shut up, and that she "answered very gravely, that it was best first to inquire of themselves whether they would be released or no." In a short time, however, she issued a proclamation containing these injunctions: "To provide, within three months after this visitation, at the charges of the parish, one book of the

[1] Archæologia, vol. XIII, p. 221.

whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within one twelve months the paraphrases of Erasmus, also in English; and the same to be set up in some convenient place within the said church, where the parishioners may most conveniently resort and read the same. All persons under the degree of A.M. shall buy for their own use the New Testament in Latin and English, with paraphrases, within three months. Inquiry was to be made whether any parsons, vicars, or curates, did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English."

She took the Great Seal from Heath, but retained him in her Privy Council, along with twelve others who had served her sister, and to them she added eight new members, her Lord Keeper being Sir Nicholas Bacon. Her sister's bishops had resolved not to crown her; but Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, broke the compact, and went through the ceremony of coronation and anointing, other bishops being also present, to one of whom Bonner had lent his episcopal robes.

Though no direct encouragement might thus be drawn by non-catholics from the queen's demeanour, the more intelligent and enterprising of her subjects hoped for an open and uncontrolled circulation of the Scriptures, and they were not disappointed. Elizabeth's conduct, however, must have greatly perplexed many observers, for in religion she was, and continued to be, somewhat of an enigma; and what her relation to the English Bible might ultimately be was vailed in uncertainty. There were omens both of promise and of discouragement. On Wotton's refusal, the chair of Canterbury was said, at the time, to have been offered to Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, who had been chaplain to Bishop Bonner. Mass was sung by the queen's desire, not only at the funeral of her sister and that of Cardinal Pole, but Convocation was opened with high mass, in 1559, and it was said in the churches from November, 1558, to June, 1559. Negotiations for an alliance between her and Rome were in progress, but they were frowned upon by Pope Paul IV, who formally excommunicated her in April, 1570. She attended mass herself, but forbade the elevation of the host. She would not admit a papal nuncio, for she detested

the Romish domination, though she had little or no sympathy with the theology of Protestantism. In the royal chapel a crucifix stood for a considerable period on the altar, with lights burning before it.[1] Jewel denounced "the idol," and Parkhurst sent to Bullinger the good news of its demolition. Her father had taken the title of Supreme Head of the Church, but she was content with that of Supreme Governor. In 1560 she assured De Quadra that she was as good a catholic as he was, and that she had been compelled to do as she did; and yet, during the course of the same year, she resolved to take Scotland under her protection, as "a Christian realm in the profession of Christ's true religion." She talked to Mendoza of reconsidering her ecclesiastical position; but she still held on her way, and took no penitent step toward reconciliation with the Holy Father. While she was coquetting with Spain and France, she enjoined on Randolph to certify to the Lords of the Congregation north of the Tweed, that, in her view, "no basis of amity between nations is so sure as that grounded on unity and consent in religion," though she had been greatly displeased with the Scottish Confession on its first publication in 1560. Professing at one time a desire to settle the succession to the crown of England in favour of the Queen of Scots, she made it a condition that Mary must accept the Reformation, and yet the ritual which she admired herself was more than semi-catholic, while she was using every effort to bind her own clergy to celibacy.[2] Her eagerness for uniformity led to its enforcement in London, and to the exclusion, in consequence, of thirty-seven of its ministers. Other recusants were cruelly punished, and men like Penry, Thacker, Greenwood, and Barrow were executed. When Catholic Europe combined against

[1] Jewel was so displeased that he said, "As Christ was (in Mary's time) thrown out by his enemies, so he is now kept out by his friends."

[2] The story was current at the time that, after being sumptuously entertained by Archbishop Parker, the queen, at her departure, after thanking the primate, turned round to his wife—the wife of the first peer of the realm—and said, "And you —madam I may not call you, and mistress I am ashamed to call you —but yet do I thank you."—Harrington, Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii, p. 16.

her she rose to the occasion, as when the Armada filled the Channel in 1588; but when Protestants stood sadly in need of men and money, she sternly refused them. She treated her clergy with queenly scorn, silenced one bishop, and threatened to unfrock another. She haughtily interrupted Dean Nowell's discourse in St. Paul's, for she disliked his iconoclasm, and she detested the pulpit from her inability to control its utterances. But in spite of her Laodicean position toward the church of Cranmer which had been founded under her father, and under him had experienced many oscillations, she never imitated Henry in his treatment of the English Bible. The various versions in use were neither impeded nor patronized by her. She thought that the nation might flourish with few sermons and fewer presses; but she never attempted to limit the supply of Bibles; nay, she commanded by proclamation the reading of the Gospel, the Epistle for the day, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue. Though she kept several of the sees long vacant, and appropriated the revenues, she never meddled with the circulation and reading of the Divine volume in any diocese. The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber were crowded with ecclesiastical causes, but the printers and publishers of the Scriptures were in no way molested. Imperious enactments were issued, mulcting those who would not attend church; but no such commands were twined round the English Bible. She often interfered with debates in Parliament, and used uncourteous language in her rebukes; and her royal assent was refused in one year to no less than forty-eight bills which had passed both houses; but she kept aloof from the Bibles in circulation, and, in her own words, spoken on another point, she would not consent that they should be either "abled or disabled."

Grafton reprinted a tract, first published on the accession of Edward in 1547, "A Godly Invective in the defence of the gospel against such as murmur and do what they can that the Bible should not have free passage; very necessary to be read of every faithful Christian. By Philip Gerrard, yeoman of King Edward's Chamber." Such a publication must have stirred up not a few to covet copies of the English Scriptures, and to be

thankful for them if already they possessed them. The queen's proclamation had restored the Great Bible to its rank of the authorized version. Tyndale's, Coverdale's, the Great Bible, and the Genevan were also in circulation, and if we reason from the number of impressions, Tyndale and the Genevan were by far the most popular. The Cranmer folio was first published in her majesty's reign in 1562, by Harrison; a quarto edition, printed by Cawood, having come out during the previous year. Jugge had also sent abroad two editions of the New Testament. "A very fine and pompous" edition of the Great Bible was also printed by Hamillon, at Rouen, in 1566, "at the cost and charges of Richard Carmarden, of the Customs." Grafton, who had been engaged in printing the Scriptures for nigh thirty years, issued an edition in one volume octavo—the first of that handy size.[1] These editions supplied the nation for six or seven years, so that there was little lack of choice; but the Great Bible and the Genevan were brought into direct competition.

These translations differed on many minor points, but they contained the same disclosure of essential truths; and they had all a close genetic relationship, the one arising out of the other, the version of Tyndale being the primal source, especially recognizable after several revisions. Bishop Hooper, writing in 1554, from his prison, an "Appellatio ad Parliamentum," asserts the desirableness of a revision, and that he had discussed and urged the matter with pious and learned brethren, affirming, however, his ability to prove that the English Bible is nearer the Hebrew than the translation usually ascribed to Jerome.[2] It was natural in such circumstances that there should be a desire for another version, which from its superiority might supersede all rivals. Parker had at the same time a passion for uniformity, and insisted on it without reserve or modification, being, as Fuller calls him, "a Parker indeed, careful to keep the fences."

[1] The greater portion of this edition, to the extent of 7,000 copies, is said to have been sent over to Ireland, and such was the good or bad usage that these books met with, that not a single copy is known to be in existence.

[2] Later Writings, p. 393, Parker Soc. ed.

He did not like men that were not, to use his own epithet, "disciplinable" men. But it was both right and natural in him to try and publish a Bible which might be accepted as the one Bible of the English people. The bishops and clergy could not but feel, if they were at all interested in critical study, that the Great Bible needed revision, and they could scarcely be expected to acquiesce in the Genevan version, though it had been made by Englishmen; for in its origin they had no hand, and over its renderings and notes they had possessed no control. It was also becoming identified more and more with the freer and bolder party in the Church, who were not only Calvinists in theology, but were struggling against rigid and universal conformity. In fact, the Genevan was greatly the better translation of the two in use, and Cranmer's must have suffered from the contrast.

The originator of the proposal for another revision or translation is not mentioned—probably there had been various suggestions growing in number and importunity. Matthew Parker, seventieth Archbishop of Canterbury, was himself an excellent scholar, far in advance of his episcopal compeers and fond of Biblical studies. Born at Norwich in 1504, he was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a fellow, and then master in 1543; becoming vice-chancellor two years afterwards. He had declined a place in Wolsey's new college at Oxford, and was made Dean of Lincoln in 1552. He spent many academical years of earnest study, so that he possessed no small portion of patristic and antiquarian learning, as may be seen in many of his works. The primate must have been well aware of the inferiority of the Great Bible, for it had been a work of haste, though it was the result of two revisions by one editor. Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, was also fully alive to the importance of the measure, and quite competent to advise upon it. In a letter to the Archbishop he declares, "Your grace should much benefit the Church in hastening forward the Bible which you have in hand: those that we have be not only false printed, but also give great offence to many by reason of the depravity in reading." But neither the queen, nor Convocation, nor Parliament uttered a voice in

the matter. The Queen had so little to do with the enterprise that the Archbishop was in some hesitation about writing her as to the completion of the Bible; and having composed a letter to her, he sent it to Cecil, and asked him to use his "opportunity of delivery." About 1563, the primate set about the new enterprise. Strype describes his method of procedure:[1]

"Among the noble designs of this archbishop must be reckoned his resolution to have the Holy Bible set forth, well translated into the vulgar tongue for private use as well as for the use of churches; and to perform that which his predecessor, Archbishop Cranmer, endeavoured so much to bring to pass, but could not (the bishops in his days being most of them utterly averse to any such thing), that is, that the bishops should join together and take their parts and portions in reviewing, amending, and setting forth the English translation of those holy books. This our present archbishop's thoughts ran much upon. And he had about this time distributed the Bible, divided into parts, to divers learned fellow-bishops, and to some other divines that were about him, who cheerfully undertook the work. As for the Bible commonly used, it was not only very ill printed, but the translation in many places bad, and such as gave offence; and the translator had followed Münster, who was very negligent, and mistook sometimes the Hebrew, as Bishop Sandys observed. The archbishop took upon him the labour to contrive and set the whole work a-going in a proper method, by sorting out the whole Bible into parcels to able bishops and other learned men to peruse, and collate each the book or books allotted them. Sending withal his instructions for the method they should observe; and they to add some short marginal notes for the illustration or correction of the text. And all these portions of the Bible being finished and sent back to the archbishop, he was to add the last hand to them, and so to take care for printing and publishing the whole."[2]

[1] Strype's Life of Parker, p. 208, London, 1711.
[2] Life of Parker, p. 207.

The coadjutors of the archbishop were not all equally competent, for Guest (Gheast), the Bishop of Rochester, confesses to some very peculiar convictions, which, if acted on, would have marred the integrity of the version. In reference to the Psalms, he says: [1] "I have not altered the translation, but where it gave occasion of an error. As at the first Psalm at the beginning I turn the præter-perfect tense into the present tense, because the sense is too harsh in the præter-perfect tense. Where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalms according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon divers translations." Sandys, in another letter, Feb. 6th, writes more precisely: "According to your grace's letter of instruction, I have perused the book you sent me, and with good diligence; having also in conference with some other, considered of the same in such sort, I trust, as your grace will not mislike of. . . . I have sent it up with my clerk, whose hand I used in writing forth the corrections and marginal notes. When it shall please your grace to set over the book to be reviewed by some one of your chaplains, my clerk shall attend a day or two, to make it plain unto him how my notes are to be placed. In mine opinion your grace shall do well to make the whole Bible to be diligently surveyed by some well learned before it be put to print, and also to have skilful and diligent correctors at the printing of it, . . . which thing will require a time. Sed sat cito si sat bene." Bishop Cox, of Ely, who had no love for the men that made the Genevan version, expresses his deep interest in the project in a letter of May 3, 1566: "I trust your grace is well forward with the Bible by this time. I perceive the greatest burden will lie upon your neck, touching care and travail. I would wish that such usual words as we English people be acquainted with might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear; ink-horn terms to be avoided. The translation of the verbs in the Psalms to be used uniformly in one tense."

[1] Life of Parker, p. 208.

The meaning of this last clause is not easily comprehended. Bishop Parkhurst, of Norwich, pledged himself "to travel therein with such diligence and expedition as he might." Davis, Bishop of St. David's, promised "to finish his part with as much speed as he could, bestowing upon the performance of the same all such time as he could spare."[1] On the 26th November, Parker also intimated the design to Cecil in the following terms: "I have distributed the Bible to divers men. I am desirous, if you could spare so much leisure either in morning or evening, we had one Epistle of St. Paul, St. Peter, or St. James perused by you, that ye may be one of the builders of this good work in Christ's Church." Another letter of the primate to Cecil, of date October 5th, 1568, encloses the short rules which the archbishop had laid down for the revisers—or, as he phrases it, "Observations respected of the translators."[2] "First, to follow the common English translation used in the churches, and not to recede from it, but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original." "Item—To use sections and divisions in the text as Pagnine in his translation useth, and for the verity of the Hebrew to follow the said Pagnine and Münster specially, and generally others learned in the tongues." "Item—To make no bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy." "Item—To note such chapters and places as contain matter of genealogies, or other such places not edifying with some strike or note, that the reader may eschew them in his public reading." "Item—That all such words as sound in the old translation, to any offence of lightness or obscenity, be expressed with more convenient terms and phrases." Of the primate's coadjutors many were bishops, and this circumstance first gave its familiar name to the revision — the Bishops' Bible.

The actual workers cannot now be definitely named. The following is the list of the revisers of the several books inclosed

[1] Strype's Life of Parker, p. 208.

[2] Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D., p. 336, Parker Soc. ed.

in a letter to Cecil, of 5th October, 1568, and still remaining with it in the State Paper office:—

The sum of the Scripture . . . .
The Tables of Christ's line . . . .
The Argument of the Scriptures . .
The first Preface into the whole Bible
The Preface into the Psalter . . .
The Preface into the New Testament
} M. Cant. [Archbishop Parker.]

Genesis, Exodus } M. Cant. [Archbishop Parker.]
Leviticus, Numerus } Cantuariæ. [Andrew Pierson, prebend of Canterbury?]
Deuteronomium } W. Exon. [Bishop Alley.]
Josuæ . . ., Judicum . . ., Ruth . . ., Regum, 1, 2. } R. Meneven. [Bishop Davies.]
Regum, 3, 4., Paralipomenon, 1, 2. } Ed. Wigorn. [Bishop Sandys.]
Job . . ., Proverbia } Cantuariæ. [Andrew Pierson, prebend of Canterbury?]
Ecclesiastes, Cantica . } Cantabrigiæ. [Andrew Perne, Master of Peter-House, and Dean of Ely.]
Ecclesiasticus, Susanna . . ., Baruc . . ., Maccabeorum } J. Norwic. [Bishop Parkhurst.]
Esdras . ., Judith . ., Tobias . ., Sapientia . } W. Cicestren. [Bishop Barlow.]
Esaias . . ., Hieremias . ., Lamentationes } R. Winton. [Bishop Horne.]
Ezechiel, Daniel } J. Lich. and Covent. [Bishop Bentham.]
Prophetæ minores } Ed. London. [Bishop Grindal.]

Matthæus, Marcus	M. Cant. [Archbishop Parker.]
Lucas, Johannes	Ed. Peterb. [Bishop Scambler.]
Acta Apostolorum, Ad Romanos . .	R. Eliensis. [Bishop Cox.]
1 Epistola Corin.	D. Westmon. [Dr. Gabriel Goodman.]
2 Epistola Corin.	M. Cant. [Archbishop Parker.]
Ad Galatas . .	
Ad Ephesios . .	
Ad Phillippenses	
Ad Collossenses .	
Ad Thessalon. .	
Ad Timotheum .	
Ad Titum . .	
Ad Philemon . .	
Ad Hebræos . .	
Epistolæ Canonicæ, Apocalipsis	N. Lincoln. [Bishop Bullingham.]

But these names do not agree with the initials put at the end of some of the books, this notation being a suggestion of the archbishop, that the several revisers "might be the more diligent as answerable for their doings." But Lawrence, if he was a formal reviser, has no place marked by his initials, and the same initials stand at the end of Job and at the end of Proverbs. Still, as the archbishop suggested, "the letters of their names be partly affixed to their books." Some of the revisers may be made out by their initials as follows :—

The Pentateuch has W. E. (William Exoniensis), William Alley, Bishop of Exeter.

The next portion, up to the second book of Samuel, has R. M. (Ricardus Menevensis), Richard Davis, Bishop of St. Davids.

The third part, as far as second book of Chronicles, has E. W. (Edwin Wigornensis), Edwin Sandys.

The fourth portion, ending with Job, has A. P. C., Andrew Peerson, Prebendary of Canterbury.

The Psalms have T. B., probably Thomas Becon. This portion was first sent to Guest, Bishop of Rochester.

The Book of Proverbs is signed again A. P. C., supposed to be Andrew Peerson, Prebendary of Canterbury, the translator of the fourth portion.

The seventh portion, containing Ecclesiastes and Canticles, has A. P. E., Andrew Perne, Prebendary of Ely.

The eighth portion, ending with Lamentations, has R. W., Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester.

The ninth part, Ezekiel and Daniel, has T. C. L., Thomas Cole, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

The tenth part, or minor prophets, has E. L., Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London.

The Apocrypha, or eleventh portion, has J. N., John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich.

The Gospels and Acts have R. E., Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely.

The Epistle to the Romans has R. E., which, according to Strype, should be E. R., Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians has G. G., Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster.

The remaining books of the New Testament have no appended initials.[1]

After a period of preparation extending to about four years, the archbishop, on 5th October, tells Cecil that the Bible is finished, and that he had thought of offering in person to the queen's highness "the first fruits of our labours in the recognizing the Bible," but, as his health would not allow him to "adventure," he asked the Secretary to present a copy to the queen, "bound as ye see." In a letter to her majesty of the same date his grace says — "Pleaseth it your highness to accept in good part the endeavour and diligence of some of us your chaplains, my brethren the bishops, with other certain learned men, in this new edition of the Bible. I trust by comparison of divers translations put forth in your realm, will

[1] Parker Correspondence, Parker Soc. ed., p. 334.

appear as well the workmanship of the printer, as the circumspection of all such as have travailed in the recognition. Among divers observations which have been regarded in this recognition, one was, not to make it vary much from that translation which was commonly used by public order, except where either the verity of the Hebrew and Greek moved alteration, or where the text was, by some negligence, mutilated from the original. So that I trust your loving subjects shall see good cause in your majesty's days to thank God and to rejoice, to see this high treasure of His holy word so set out as may be proved (so far forth as man's mortal knowledge can attain to, or as far forth as God hath hitherto revealed) to be faithfully handled in the vulgar tongue; beseeching your highness that it may have your gracious favour, licence, and protection, to be communicated abroad, as well for that in many churches they want their books, and have long time looked for this, as for that in certain places be publicly used some translations which have not been laboured in your realm, having inspersed diverse prejudicial notes, which might have been also well spared. I have been bold in the furniture with few words to express the incomparable value of this treasure."

The Bible so disparaged is the Genevan version and its famous notes; and the queen is earnestly appealed to that she might authorize the revision. In the same letter to Cecil, already referred to, the primate speaks on some technical points and matters of business:—

"It may be that in so long a work things have scaped, which may be lawful to every man, *cum bona venia*, to amend when they find them; *non omnia possumus omnes*. The printer hath honestly done his diligence; if your honour would obtain of the Queen's Highness that this edition might be licensed and only commended in public reading in churches, to draw to one uniformity, it were no great cost to the most parishes, and a relief to him for his great charges sustained.[1] The psalters might remain in quires, as

[1] In a "note" he adds, "The printer hath bestowed his thickest paper on the New Testament, because it shall be most occupied."

they be much multiplied, but where of their own accord they would use this translation. Sir, I pray your honour be a mean that Jugge only may have the preferment of this edition; for if any other should lurch him to steal from him these copies, he were a great loser in this first thing. And, sir, without doubt he hath well deserved to be preferred; a man would not think that he had devoured so much pain as he hath sustained."

It is pleasant to note that Parker was to his death on affectionate terms with his fellow-workers, and that he remembered some of them in his will. He bequeathed to Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, a gold ring with a round sapphire; to Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, his staff of Indian cane, with silver gilt at the end; to Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, a gold ring with a turquoise; to Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, his staff of Indian cane, with a horologe on the top; to Nicholas Bullingham, Bishop of Worcester, his white horse, called Hackengton, with the saddle, and bridle, and a new footcloth of velvet; to Andrew Pearson, B.D., a silver cup with a cover gilt, given to him by the queen on the feast of the circumcision.[1]

[1] Coopers' Athenæ Cantabrigienses, vol. I, p. 332. In the same volume it is stated that Bishop Cox, in writing to Cecil on the 10th of January, 1561-2, proposed a new translation of the Bible, and repeated the proposal in another letter of 3rd May, 1564. Do., p. 440.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE Bible was published in folio with the simple title: "The Holie Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New: The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ. 1568. Richard Jugge. Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis."

Jugge presents his "mark"—the pelican feeding her young with her own blood, with a Latin couplet explaining the symbol. The archbishop's own copy is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. On the title-page, in an oval, is a half-length portrait of the queen, with the ball and sceptre in her hand; above her the arms of France and England quartered within the garter, and over them the helmet and crest. On the one side is the symbol of Ireland, and on the other that of Wales, while Charity and Faith are delineated on the margin of the picture. At the bottom of the page, on a scroll guarded by the lion and dragon, are the words, "Non me pudet Evangelii Christi. Virtus enim Dei est ad salutem omni credenti. Rom. i." At the beginning of Joshua is an engraving, in an oval, of the Earl of Leicester in armour, and his coat of arms is in the initial A of the word "AFTER." On the front of the Psalms is a plate of Lord Burleigh, holding in his left hand an open Hebrew book; and the initial D (David) of the Preface has in it his coat of arms, and also the B of the word "Blessed" in the first psalm. Parker's preface is in Roman, and Cranmer's prologue is in Gothic letters, the initial letter C of his name containing his coat of arms. There is also at Leviticus xviii a double table of degrees of "kinred, affinitie, or aliaunce which let matrimonise." The archbishop's paternal arms are found impaled with those of Christ Church Canterbury, in a

large initial T at the genealogical table in the Old Testament and at the preface to the New. There are many engravings. Otherwise the volume is marked by a severe simplicity, and there is no dedication.[1] Parker's preface inculcates the duty and privilege of reading the Scriptures, which are meant for all. The need of the present revision is also dwelt on. "And for that the copies thereof be so wasted, that very many churches do want their convenient Bybles, it was thought good to some well-disposed men, to recognize[2] the same Byble againe into this fourme as it is nowe come out, with some further diligence in the printing, and with more light added, partly in the translation, and partly in the order of the text; not as condemning the former translation, whiche was folowed mostly of any other translation, excepting the originall text, from whiche as litle variaunce was made as was thought meete to such as take paynes therin: desiring thee, good reader, if ought be escaped, eyther by such as had the expending of the bookes, or by the oversight of the printer, to correct the same in the spirite of Charitie, calling to remembrance what diversitie hath been seene in men's judgementes in the translation of these bookes before these dayes, though all directed their labours to the glory of God, to the edification of the Church, to the comfort of their Christian brethren, and always as God dyd further open unto them, so ever more desirous they were to refourme their former humane oversightes, rather then in a stubborne wylfulnesse to resist the gyft of the holy Ghost, who from tyme to tyme is resident as that heavenly teacher and leader into all truth, by whose direction the Church is ruled and governed." The misinterpretations of some Catholic writers are exposed, especially one which, in Rom. vi, 13, changed "sanctification" into "satisfaction." The saying of St. Augustine is quoted, "that divers translations many times have made the harder and darker sentences the more open and plain;" and Fisher, "once Bishop of Rochester," is also adduced as affirming that "many things have been more diligently

[1] Jewel wrote to Bullinger, "The queen will not endure the title of Head of the Church of England, at which I certainly am not displeased."

[2] It was the usual term then for "revise."

discussed, and more clearly understanded by the writers of these latter days than in old times they were."

The division of verses adopted in the Genevan version is followed; and, after its example too, some care was taken of the spelling of proper names. But there is really no proof of Offor's[1] statement, that the New Testament of the Bishops' Bible is taken from a revision of Cheke's New Testament, published by Jugge in 1561. The Testament referred to by him is apparently an edition of Tyndale.[2]

One cannot surmise why the Queen should not have publicly acknowledged the appeal made to her by the Primate—why she should not have acted as her father had done to three translations, and given the version special recognition and sanction. Not even Parker's name graces the title-page, as Cranmer's had done in his Bible of 1540. Perhaps she had some regard for the Bible so often printed in her father's and brother's time, and for the memory of the primate who had at length died at the stake. At all events, no royal confirmation was given to the volume, and no license was issued, like that to John Bodleigh for the Genevan version. An edition of Cranmer's Bible was printed the same year as the first edition of the Bishops', and it bore upon it as usual, "according to the translation appointed to be read in churches"; but Parker's Bible never carried such a mandate during his lifetime. In the royal patents for printing the Bible, no version was singled out for preference, even though such patents were sanctioned by Archbishop Whitgift. Not till 1577 was an edition printed "set forth by authoritie"—that is, not royal, only episcopal authority; but, as if to offer a counterpoise, a copy of the Genevan of the same year was presented to the "throned vestal," and the covers were embroidered by her own hand.

But Convocation naturally made special enactments in favour of the Bishops' version. In the "Constitutions and Canons" of 1571, it was ordered "that every archbishop and bishop should have at his house a copy of the Holy Bible of the largest volume, as lately printed in London, and that it should be placed in the

[1] Offor MSS., II, British Museum. in his own collection, pp. 185-187.
[2] Lea Wilson's Catalogue of Bibles Cotton's Editions, &c., p. 32.

hall or large dining room, that it might be useful to their servants or to strangers"—the order applying also to each cathedral, and "so far as could be conveniently done, to all the churches." The English service was still very unwelcome to many of the conservative clergy and nobility, who regarded it as the life of the religious revolution by which so many intolerable changes were wrought round about them. The rebellion of the northern Earls in 1569 had, according to their proclamation, for its object "to restore all ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble realm." The insurgents, filled with this spirit, entered Durham Cathedral with the old banner of the Pilgrimage borne before them, blazoned with the cross, the streamers, and the five wounds, and at once destroyed "the English Bibles,"[1]—copies, in all probability, of the Great Bible.

In the Old Testament the Great Bible was chiefly followed; many chapters exhibit few important variations, and numerous better renderings introduced by the Genevan version are ignored, though not a few emendations are at the same time adopted from it. Canon Westcott says, "It is possible that I may have been unfortunate in the parts which I have examined (of the Old Testament), for what I saw did not encourage me to compare very much of the Bishops' text with the other versions."[2] Editions of the version appeared in 1569, 1570, and 1571.

Strype has preserved some critical remarks on twenty-nine places of the New Testament of the Bishops' Bible, by Lawrence—"a man, in those days, of great fame for his knowledge of the Greek," and probably one of the revisers of the Bishops' version, or suggesters of the second edition.[3] Lawrence was probably the head-master of Shrewsbury School, and the instructor in Greek of Lady Cecil, who became a wonderful proficient in that language. The criticisms are certainly made on some places in the New Testament of the first edition of the Bishops' Bible, for it alone of all the versions contains several of the clauses on which critical comments are given, though the majority of them are found also in the Great Bible, on

[1] Froude's History, vol. IX, p. 315.
[2] History, p. 247, 2nd ed.
[3] Life of Parker. Appendix, No. lxxxv, p. 139.

which the Bishops' was principally based. In some instances the rendering of the Great Bible is simply restored. The verses selected for emendation are, with one exception, taken from the Synoptical Gospels, and his corrections were accepted in the revised edition of the Bishops', published in 1572; probably, therefore, the work of Lawrence was done with a view to this edition, and was intended to present a brief specimen of the necessity and nature of a good revision.

Lawrence's first section is headed "Wordes not aptlye translated in the New Testament." His proposed emendations are —Matt. xvii, 27, instead of "of the children," B. 1, "their children," G. B., "of their own children," adopted in the B. 2 and A.;[2] but the best Greek reading will not warrant it. 27, instead of "cast an angle," G. B., B 1, "cast an hook," adopted in B 2. and A. xxi, 33, instead of "made a vineyard," B. 1 and G. B., "planted a vineyard," "amended" in the Genevan, adopted in B. 2 and A. 38, instead of "let us enjoy it," B 1, G. B., "let us take possession or seizyn," adopted virtually in B. 2 and A.; "keep," however, would be more literal. xxii, 7, instead of "sente foorth his men of war," B. 1, G. B., "sent forth his armies," adopted in B. 2 and A. xxv, 20, instead of "five talents more," B. 1, G. B., "five talents besides," B. 2 and A. xxvi, 38, instead of "is heavy," B. 1, G. B., "is exceedinge heavie," adopted in B. 2 and A., as the adjective is a strong compound; the Genevan having "very heavie." 42, instead of "he went awaie once again," B. 1, G. B., "he went away the second time," noting that "this is amended in the Genevan Bible," adopted in B. 2 and A. xxvii, 14, instead of "harmless," B. 1, G. B., "careless"; "this is not considered in the Genevan Bible"; adopted in B. 2 and A. as "secure you," make you secure—that is, free from care, if judicial investigation should take place.

Mark i, 24, "let us alone," the clause not being in B. 1 and G. B., adopted in B. 2 and A.; but the Greek reading that would warrant such a translation can scarcely be sustained. 45, instead of "to tell many things," B. 1, G. B. "openly to declare,"

[2] B. 1, Bishops' first edition; B. 2, Bishops' revised edition of 1572; G. B., Great Bible; A., Authorized.

virtually B. 2 and A.; but it is "not considered in the Genevan Bible." x, 19, instead of "thou shalte not kyll," B. 1, "kyll not," G. B., "doe not kyll," B. 2 and A., Beza being correct in those places, but the Genevan wrong; and the "Vulgate" being right in this verse, but wrong in rendering the same language in Luke xviii, 20. xii, 15, instead of "seeing," B. 1, "having understood their dissimulation," G. B., "he knowinge theire hypocrisie," B. 2, but not A.

In Luke i, 3, 4, the translation of the Great Bible is really better than that which Lawrence suggests, and which is found in the Bishops', and virtually in the Authorized, "having perfect understanding of all things from the beginning," the Great Bible having "as soon as I had searched out diligently all things"—the correct rendering being "having traced the course of all things accurately from the first"; Lawrence is right in the last clause, "whereof thou hast been taught by mouth," adopted in the B. 2, but refused in A. vi, 44, instead of "nor of bushes," B. 1, G. B., "nor of a bramble-bush," B. 2 and A. All those corrections suggested by Lawrence have been adopted in the Bishops', and, with one exception, are found also in the Authorized.

Lawrence's second section is headed "Wordes and pieces of sentences omytted." Some of the instances imply a different Greek reading, and in others the omission is the fault of the translator. He notices "yet" omitted in Matt. xv, 16, B. 1 and G. B., amended in the Genevan, found in B. 2 and A. xxii, 13, "take him up" "take" omitted in B. 1, not in G. B., but inserted in B. 2 and A. xxvi, 13, "whole," in the phrase "whole world," omitted in G. B., B 1 having "al the world," but given in B. 2 and A.

Mark xv, 3, "but he answered nothing," B. 1, G. B.; the omission also in Beza, and therefore in the Genevan; but inserted in B. 2 and A. after the margin of Stephens. The clause, however, has no authority, being taken from Matt. xxvii, 12, or Luke xxiii, 9.

Luke viii, 23, "of wind," in G. B., not B. 1; inserted in B. 2 and A. In x, 22, Lawrence commends the insertion of "and turning to his disciples he said," G. B., not B. 1, but the clause was not

adopted by B. 2; the Genevan admitted it, though it is not in the text of Beza; but Stephens had adopted it. It had been rejected by Erasmus; Tyndale and Coverdale also omit it; and it is placed in the margin of the Authorized Version, with a note. xxii, 12, "great" is omitted, B. 1, the clause ought to be "a great upper chamber," the reading of Stephens and Beza, and the Genevan accepted in B. 2 and A. "A great parlour paved" is the rendering of Tyndale and Coverdale, and of the Great Bible of 1539 and 1540; the Genevan having "a great hie chamber trimmed." The last example is xxiv, 27, "he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures which were written of him," B. 1, G. B., the rendering being liable to misinterpretation, and the sense being he "interpreted to them in all the Scriptures those things which were written of him," "well amended in the Genevan translation"; accepted by B. 2, but more compact in A.—"he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself."

Lawrence's third head is "Wordes superfluous," and his examples are, Mark xiii, 16, "Let hym that is in the fielde not turne backe againe unto the thinges whiche he lefte behinde him," B. 1, G. B., the proper rendering being briefer, "let him not turne backe," adopted by B. 2 and A. Luke xii, 24, "feathered fowles," B. 1, G. B. within brackets. Lawrence asks "what needethe feathered?" the epithet perhaps suggested by the "volucribus" of Erasmus; omitted in B. 2 and A.

The fourth section refers to "Sentences changed and error in doctrine." Luke ix, 45, "it was hidde from them, that they understoode it not," B. 1, G. B., should be "it was hidde from them that they should not understand it," rightly adopted in B. 2, but vailed in A., and it had been refused by the Genevan, though it quadrated with Genevan theology. Colos. ii, 13, "dead to synne, and to the uncircumcision of your flesh," B. 1, G. B. having "through . . . through"; it should be "dead in synne"; the necessary change was adopted in the subsequent versions.

The last section is "Modes and tenses changed, and places not well considered by Theodorus Beza and Erasmus, as I

thynke." Matt. xxi, 3, "say ye," B. 1, G. B., should be "ye shall say,"—Beza having "dicite," but ἐρεῖτε is never of the imperative mood and Beza has "dicetis" in other places; the correction is adopted by B. 2 and A. Luke xvii, 8, for "eate thou and drynke thou," B. 1, G. B., "thou shalt eate and drynke," "for the sense it maketh no great matter, but in grammar it is an evident error." The future is in Coverdale's own version, but the imperative "eat thou" was put into the Great Bible after Tyndale, and it was taken also by the Genevan. This correction is followed by a long grammatical argument against Erasmus and Beza, who, misled by the form of the verbs, took them for first aorist imperatives. B. 2 and A. rightly adopt the future, though Beza had *edito tu et bibito.* These remarks are not all of primary importance, but they indicate scholarship, and have influenced our present Bibles. The modest critic adds: "It is more lyke that I should be deceived than either Erasmus or Beza. I wolde gladlye they were defended that I might see myne own error. I take them to be deceyved, because I see reason and aucthoritie for me, and as yet none for them, but because they saye so, and yet brynge no proofe for them." Had Lawrence extended his remarks to the Great Bible, he might have corrected many blunders; for in the Great Bible sometimes the translation does not bring out the full meaning of the original, sometimes it goes beyond it, and occasionally it is erroneous: as Luke ii, 13, "a multitude of heavenly soudyers"; xvi, 8, the word lord is spelled "Lord" with an initial capital, as if it referred to Jesus, and the clause were his eulogy of dishonesty; and "in their nation" of the same verse is a misrendering, as is xix, 23, "with vauntage"; John i, 1, "and God was the Word"; 3, "all things were made by it"; Acts viii, 23, "full of bitter gall"; 26, "which is in the desert"; xxvii, 9, "because also that they had overlong fasted"; 13, "loosed into Asson," making the adverb a proper name; Rom. ix, 5, "which is God in all things to be praised"; xii, 11, "apply yourselves to the time." Many of those instances occur also in the earlier versions.[1]

[1] See vol. I, pp. 142, 381, &c.

The special edition of 1572 was revised in the New Testament, and in many places corrected and improved. It is printed on thick paper, and is a heavy and handsome folio. Of titles, portraits, and maps, it has only thirty engravings, and the initial letter of Jeremiah has in it a coat of arms. But it was disfigured by several peculiar ornaments, or ornamental initial letters, taken from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," such as Leda and the Swan at the Epistle to the Hebrews, with many others of a similar incongruous character. It has a double copy of the Psalms—one column in the page preserves the version of the Great Bible in black letter, and the other, or parallel column, the new version in Roman letter. The nature of the revision in the New Testament may be seen in the following collation of the Epistle to the Galatians. The revision is careful, and shows a decided desire and effort towards an exacter and more literal version. The New Testament of Tyndale is imbedded in the Great Bible, and shows itself in the first edition of the Bishops'; but the revised edition of the Bishops', in its independent course, occasionally differs from it. Expletive words are placed in brackets; and honest scholarship is everywhere apparent.

	First Edition, 1568.	Revised Edition, 1572.
	Chapter I.	
Verse		
1	raised him up from death; Great Bible, Tyndale.	from the dead; Genevan.
9	than that ye have received.	[that ye have].
10	If I should yet please men; Genevan.	If I yet pleased men.
11	was not after men; Genevan.	is not after men.
13	howe that; Genevan, Tyndale.	[how] that.
15	called me.	called [me].
17	neither returned; Tyndale.	went I up.
	which were apostles.	which [were].
18	I returned to Jerusalem.	I went up.
23	in time past; Genevan, Great Bible, Tyndale.	in times past.

Verse	First Edition, 1568.	Revised Edition, 1572.
	Chapter II.	
2	I went up also ; Great Bible.	I went up ; Genevan.
	which were the chiefe ; Genevan.	which were esteemed the chief.
6	in time passed ; Genevan, Great Bible, Tyndale.	in times past.
9	then James ; Great Bible, Tyndale.	[then] James.
12	which were.	[which were].
14	why causest thou ? Great Bible, Tyndale.	why compellest thou ?
16	and we have believed ; Great Bible.	we have believed.
21	comme of the law ; Great Bible, Tyndale.	[come].
	Chapter III.	
1	described before the eyes ; Great Bible, Tyndale.	was before described before the eyes.
19	till the seed came ; Great Bible.	should come.
	Chapter IV.	
12	be ye as I [am].	for I [am] as ye are.
25	which is nowe [called] Jerusalem.	which [is] now [called].
30	shall not be heir ; Great Bible, Tyndale.	shall in no wise be heyre.
	Chapter V.	
8	not the perfection of hym that called you.	this persuasion cometh not of him that called you.
9	a little leaven doth leaven.	leaveneth.
14	which is this ; Genevan, Great Bible.	[which is this].
20	zeal.	emulations ; Genevan.
21	that they.	that [even] Christes.
24	they truly that are ; Great Bible.	that [are] have.
25	let us walk ; Great Bible, Tyndale.	let us also walk in the Spirit ; Genevan.
	Chapter VI.	
1	be taken in any fault ; Great Bible.	be prevented in any fault.
	considering thyself, lest.	considering thee selfe, lest.
3	in his own fansie.	in his own fantasy.
8	into his flesh.	in his fleashe; Great Bible, Tyndale.
13	rejoice in your flesh ; Genevan, Great Bible, Tyndale.	glory in your flesh.
14	should rejoice, but in ; Great Bible, Genevan, Tyndale.	should glory, but in the cross.

The Historical Books of the Old Testament are not much changed, the revision is slight and superficial, and the words and phrases of the Great Bible are so continuously employed as almost to take independent character from the version. Thus in the first twenty verses of Genesis xxxvii, there are some twelve changes, none of any great importance, but nearly all of them bringing the English into closer uniformity with the Hebrew. The revisers were enjoined to follow Pagninus and Münster,* though the last was depreciated unjustly by Sandys, and they obeyed the injunction.

Verse	GREAT BIBLE.	BISHOPS'.
2	an euyll sayinge of them.	their evil *report*.[1]
7	and youres stode.	*and behold*[2] your sheaves.
8	be our kynge in dede.	a king indeed *on us*[3] (over us, 1572).
10	come to fall on the grounde before thee.	indeed come *to bow to thee*.[4]
11	hated him.[5]	*envied*[6] him, Genevan.
12	kepe their fathers shepe.[7]	his fathers *cattel*;[8] and so in verses 14 and 16.
14	he went to.	*came* to.[9]
19	this dreamer.[10]	this notable dreamer; marginal note — Hebrew, maister of dreames.
20	a wycked beast.	some naughtie beaste.[11]

[1] Malam famam eorum, Pagninus, Münster, Leo Judæ.
[2] Et ecce, Pagninus.
[3] Super nos, Pagninus, Münster, Leo Judæ.
[4] Und dich anbeten, Luther.
[5] Virtually Leo Judæ.
[6] Invidebant, Vulgate.
[7] Coverdale ("their fathers" of the Great Bible being correct); oves, Münster.
[8] Grex, Leo Judæ; pecudes, Pagninus.
[9] Venit, Pagninus.
[10] Somniator ille, Pagninus.
[11] Bestia mala, Münster.

* It is one of the signs of those changing times that Sebastian Münster, whose Latin translation is so cordially recommended by Archbishop Parker to his coadjutors, published in 1527 a *Hebrew Dictionary*, to which he prefixed an elaborate dedication to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whom King Henry VIII beheaded in 1535.

Or take the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops':—

EZEKIEL XXXVII.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
1 The hand of the Lord *came*[1] vpon me, and caried me out in the sprete of the Lorde, and *let me*[2] downe in a playne field *that lay full of bones.*[3]	The hand of the Lord *was*[4] vpon me, and caried me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set me downe in the *middes*[5] of a fielde which was ful of bones.	The hande of the Lorde was vpon me, and caried me out in the spirite of the Lorde, and set me downe in *the midst of a*[6] *plaine fielde* that was full of bones.
2 And he led me rounde about by them, and *beholde*[7] *the bones*[8] that lay vpon the fielde were very many, and *maruelous*[9] drye also.	And he led me round about by them, and beholde there were very manie in *the open*[10] *field*, and, lo, they were verie drye.	And he led me rounde about by them, and beholde, there were very many in the open fielde, and *lo*[11] (they were) very drye.
3 *Then*[12] sayde he vnto me: *Thou*[13] sonne of man: *thinkest*[14] *thou* that these bones may liue *again*,[15] I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest.	*And*[16] he said vnto me, Sonne of man, can these bones liue? *And*[17] I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest.	*Then*[18] saide he vnto me: Thou sonne of man, thinkest thou these bones may liue againe: I answered, O Lorde God, thou knowest.
4 And he sayd vnto me: Prophecie thou *vpon*[19] these bones: and speake vnto them. Ye drye bones, heare the worde of the Lorde.	Again he said vnto me, Prophecie *vpon*[20] these bones, and say vnto them, O ye drye bones, hear the worde of the Lorde.	And he said vnto me, Prophecie thou vpon these bones, and speake vnto them: Ye drye bones, heare the worde of the Lorde.[21]

[1] Kam, Luther, Zürich.
[2] Liess, Zürich.
[3] Das lag voller gebeins, Zürich.
[4] Fuit, Pagninus.
[5] In medio, Vulgate.
[6] In medio planiciei, Münster.
[7] Sehe, Luther.
[8] Des gebeynes, Zürich.
[9] Vast dürr, Zürich.
[10] In superficie agri, Pagninus.
[11] Ecce, Pagninus, Münster. This interjection is expressed in the Hebrew twice.
[12] Do, rendered *then* by Coverdale.
[13] Du, Luther.
[14] Putasne, Vulgate.
[15] Wieder, Zürich.
[16] Et, Vulgate and Latin versions.
[17] Et, Munster, Pagninus.
[18] Tum, Leo Judæ—the verse corresponds with the Great Bible.
[19] Über, Zürich, Coverdale.
[20] Super, Pagninus and Münster, after the Hebrew.
[21] After the Great Bible.

EZEKIEL XXXVII—CONTINUED.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
5 Thus sayth the Lord God vnto these bones, Behold I will put breath into you, *that*[1] ye may lyue:	Thus saith the Lord God vnto these bones, Beholde *I wil cause*[2] breath to entre into you and ye shal liue.	Thus saith the Lorde God vnto these bones: Beholde, I wyll cause breath to enter into you that ye may lyue.[3]
6 I will geue you *sinowes*,[4] and *make fleshe to growe vpon you*,[5] and couer you ouer with skynne; and so geue you breath, *that*[6] ye may lyue, and knowe that I am the Lord God.	And I wil lay sinewes *vpon*[7] *you*, and make flesh growe vpon you, and couer you with skin, and put breath in you, that ye may liue, *and ye shal*[8] knowe that I am the Lord.	I wyll geue you sinowes, and make fleshe growe vpon you, and couer you ouer with skinne, and so geue you breath, that ye may liue, and knowe that I am the Lorde.[9]
7. *So*[10] I prophecied, *as he commanded*[11] *me*, and as I was prophecying ther came a noyse and a great mocion so that the bones came euerye *one to another*.[12]	So I prophecied as I *was*[13] *commanded:* and as I prophecied, there was a *noise*[14] and beholde there *was*[15] *a shaking* and the bones *came*[16] *together, bone to his bone*.[17]	So I prophecied as *I was*[18] *commanded:* and as I was prophecying there was a noyse, and also a great motion so that the bones came neare together, bone to his bone.
8 Now when I had loked, *behold*[19] they had sinowes, and fleshe grewe vpon theym: and *aboue*[20] they were couered with skynne, but there was no breath in theym.	And when I behelde, lo, the sinewes, and the fleshe grewe vpon them, and aboue the skin couered them, but there was no breath in them.	Now when I had loked, behold they had sinowes, and fleshe grewe vpon them, and above they were couered with skin, but there was no breath in them.[21]

1 Das, Luther, Zürich, Coverdale.

2 Introire facio—Pagninus; the Hebrew verb being in the Hiphil conjugation.

3 After the Great Bible and the Genevan.

4 Nervos, Vulgate.

5 Increscere faciam carnes, Vulgate.

6 Das, Luther and Zürich.

7 Super vos, Vulgate, Münster.

8 Und sollt erfahren, Luther.

9 After the Great Bible.

10 Do, Zürich.

11 Sicut præceperat mihi, Vulgate.

12 Zu dem andern, Zürich.

13 Jussus fui, Pagninus, Münster,

14 Sonus, Leo Judæ.

15 Et ecce strepitus, Münster; et ecce commotio, Pagninus.

16 Accesserunt.

17 Os scilicet ad os suum, Münster.

18 After the Genevan.

19 Ecce, Pagninus.

20 Desuper, do.

21 After the Great Bible.

EZEKIEL XXXVII—CONTINUED.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
9 Then sayd hee vnto mee, Thou sonne of man, prophesye thus *towarde*[1] the wynde: prophesye and speake to the wynde: Thus saith the Lord God, Come (O thou ayre) from the foure wyndes, and blowe vpon these slayne that they may be *restored to lyfe.*[2]	Then said he vnto me, Prophecie vnto the winde: prophecie, sonne of man, and say to the winde, Thus saith the Lord God,[3] Come from the foure windes, O breath, and breathe vpon these slaine, *that*[4] they may liue.	Then said he vnto me: Thou sonne of man, prophecie thou towarde the winde, prophecie and speake to the winde, thus saith the Lord God: Come, O thou *ayre,*[5] from the foure windes, and blowe vpon these slaine that they may lyue.
10 So I prophecied as he had commaunded me: *then*[6] came the breth vnto theym, and they receaued lyfe, and stode op vpon their fete, a *maruelous great*[7] *sorte.*	So I prophecied as he had commanded me: and the breath came into them, and they liued, and stode op vpon their fete, *an exceding*[8] *great armie.*	So I prophecied as he had commaunded me: then came the breath into them; and they receaued lyfe, and stoode vp vpon their feete, a marueilous great armie.[9]

The Apocrypha is scarcely revised at all, and neglecting the Genevan, it reverts mainly to the Great Bible which is usually followed, and which rests on the Latin text. The prayer of Manasses is restored to the place which it occupied between the story of Bel and the Dragon and the First Book of Maccabees.

MATTHEW III.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
1. In those dayes came John ye Baptist, *preaching*[10] in the wilderness of Jewrie, *saying,*[11]	*And*[12] in those dayes John the Baptiste came and *preached*[13] in the wilderness of Judea.	In those dayes came[14] John the Baptist preaching in the wyldernesse of Jurie.

[1] Gegen, Zürich, Coverdale.

[2] Reviviscant, Vulgate; wieder lebendig, Luther, Coverdale.

[3] Order as in the Vulgate.

[4] Das, Luther; ut, Münster and Leo Judæ.

[5] Lufft, Luther, and Coverdale.

[6] Do, Zürich.

[7] Träffentliche grosse Menge, Zürich.

[8] Exercitus grandis valde valde—Pagninus; an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew duplication of the adverb.

[9] After the Great Bible.

[10] Predicans, Vulgate.

[11] Dicens, Vulgate and Erasmus.

[12] Autem, Vulgate, Beza.

[13] Tyndale, Coverdale; und predigte, Luther and the Zürich.

[14] All the versions misrender the present—"came" instead of "cometh."

MATTHEW III—CONTINUED.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
2 Repent of the *life*[1] *that is past*, for the kingdome of Heaven is at hand.	And said, *Repent:*[2] for the kingdome of heaven is at hand.	And saying, Repent ye,[3] for the kingdome of heaven is at hand.
3 For this is he of *whom*[4] the prophet Esaie spake, *which saith*,[5] The voice of a cryer[6] in the wilderness, prepare ye the waye of the Lorde: and make his pathes straight.	For[7] this is he of whome *it is spoken*[8] by the Prophet Esaias, *saying*,[9] The voyce of him that cryeth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord: make his paths straight.	For this is he that was spoken of by the prophete Esaias, saying, the voyce of one crying in the wyldernesse, Prepare ye the way of the Lorde, make ye his pathes straight.[10]
4 *This*[11] John had his raiment of cammels heare. And a girdell of a skinne about hys loynes. His meate was locustes and wilde hony.	And[12] this John had his garment of camels heere, and a girdle of a skin about hys loynes: *his meat was also*[13] locustes and wilde honie.	This John had his rayment of camels heare, and a *letherne girdle*[14] about his loines,[15] his meate was locustes and wild honey.
5 Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Jewrie, and all the region rounde about Jordan.[16]	Then went out to him Jerusalem and *all Judea*,[17] and all the region rounde about Jordan.	Then went out to him Hierusalem, and all Jurie, and al the region rounde about Jordane.
6 And were baptized of him in Jordane, confessing their sinnes.[18]	And they were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sinnes.	And were baptised of him in Jordane, confessing their sinnes.
7 *But*[19] when he saw many of the Pharises and Saduces come to his bap-	Now when he sawe many of the Pharisees and of the Sadduces come to his bap-	But when he sawe many of the Pharisees and Saducees comme to

[1] Vitæ prioris, Erasmus.
[2] Resipiscite, Beza.
[3] The pronoun "ye" not in the two previous versions, but inserted in the Authorized Version.
[4] De quo dixit, Erasmus.
[5] Qui ait, Erasmus.
[6] Tyndale, Coverdale.
[7] Nam, Beza.
[8] De quo dictum, Beza, Leo Judæ.
[9] Dicentem, Vulgate.
[10] Repeated verbatim in the Authorized Version—the variation from the previous versions being an improvement.
[11] Ipse vero, Erasmus.
[12] Ipse vero, Beza.
[13] Alimentum autem ejus, Beza.
[14] Luther and Zürich; kept in the Authorized Version.
[15] All these versions omit the connecting particle "and" (δέ).
[16] Tyndale throughout.
[17] Tota Judæa, Beza.
[18] Tyndale.
[19] Autem, Vulgate; als nun, Luther and Zürich.

MATTHEW III--CONTINUED.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
tisme, hee said unto them. O generacion of vipers, who *hath taught*[1] you to flee from the vengeance to come.	tisme, he said unto them, O *generacions*[2] of vipers, who hathe *forewarned*[3] you to flee from the angre to come.	his baptisme, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the anger to comme.
8 Bring forthe therefore the fruites that belong to repentance.	Bring forthe therefore fruites *worthy amendment*[4] of life.[5]	Bring foorth therefore fruites *meete*[6] *for repentance.*
9 And *be*[7] *not of such minde* that ye would say within your selves: we have Abraham to our father. For I say unto you that God *is able to bring*[8] *to passe*, that of these stones there *shall*[9] *rise* up children unto Abraham.	And[10] *thinke* not to say *with*[11] your selves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.	And be not of such minde, that ye would say within your selves, We have Abraham to (*our*)[12] father; For I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to rayse up children unto Abraham.
10 *Even*[13] *now* is the axe also put unto the roote of the trees: *so that*[14] every tre which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen downe and cast into the fyre.	*And now also*[15] is the axe put to the roote of the trees: *therefore*[16] everie tre which bringeth not forthe good fruite is hewen downe and cast into the fyre.	Even now is the axe also put into the roote of the trees: Wherefore, every tree which bringeth not foorth good fruite is hewen downe and cast into the fire.
11 I baptize you with water unto repentance:	Indeede[17] I baptize you with water to amendment	I baptize you in[18] water unto repentance: but he

[1] Wer hat euch gewiesen, Luther.

[2] Plural in both German versions.

[3] Præmonstravit, Beza.

[4] Dignum iis qui resipuerint, Beza.

[5] This rendering suggested the marginal note in the Authorized Version, "answerable to amendment of life."

[6] Qui deceant pœnitentiam, Erasmus.

[7] Virtually after Luther; ne sitis hac mente, Erasmus, kept in the Bishops'.

[8] Quod possit Deus facere, Erasmus.

[9] Ut filii surgant, Erasmus.

[10] Ne putetis, Beza.

[11] Apud, Beza, kept in the Authorized Version.

[12] "Our" is really carried by the idiom, though printed in italics in the Authorized Version.

[13] Jam vero, Erasmus.

[14] Darumb, Zürich.

[15] Correct rendering of the Greek, and preserved in the Authorized Version.

[16] Igitur, Beza.

[17] Quidem, Beza.

[18] Tyndale; but he does not preserve uniformity in the last clauses.

MATTHEW III—CONTINUED.

GREAT BIBLE.	GENEVAN.	BISHOPS'.
but hee that *shall*[1] *come* after mee, is mightier than I, whose shooes I am not worthye to beare. Hee shall baptize you *with* the holye ghost and *with*[2] fyre.	of life, but he *that cometh*[3] after me is mightier then I, whose shoes I am not worthie to beare: he will baptize you with the holie Gost and with fyre.	that cometh after me is mightier then I, whose shoes I am not woorthy to beare, he shall baptize you with the holye ghost and *with*[4] fyre.
12 Whose fan is in his hande, and he will purge hys floore, and *gather*[5] *his*[6] *wheate* into the barne, but will burne the chaffe wyth unquencheable fire.	Which hathe his fanne in his hand, and wil make cleane *his floore*,[7] and gather his wheat into his garner, but wil *burn up*[8] the chaffe with unquencheable fire.	Whose fanne is in his hand, and he wil *throughly*[9] purge his floore, and gather his wheate into (his) garner: but wil burne up the chaffe with unquencheable fire.

In the 8th chapter of Romans, the Bishops' has, in verse 3, "through the flesh," the Great Bible and the Genevan having "because of the flesh," but it gives us "joint-heirs" and "earnest expectation"; while the Great Bible interpolates a verb in verse 3, "that performed God"; and the Genevan inserts "to death" in 32. But the Genevan gives us "more than conquerors," the other two having only "overcome"; and the Genevan also brought in "the redemption of our body." To the Bishops' we owe the expressive and familiar phrases in Ephesians ii, 14, "middle wall"; 19, "fellow-citizens"; and iii, 8, "less than the least."

Though the Bishops' was thus professedly a revision of the Great Bible, the marginal notes in the New Testament are often from the Genevan, though Parker, in his letter to the queen,

[1] Venturus est, Erasmus, Vulgate.

[2] "Mit" repeated in Luther, Zürich, Coverdale, Tyndale.

[3] Qui venit, Beza.

[4] Authorized Version prints second "with" in italics, but it should be omitted.

[5] Sammeln, Luther.

[6] Triticum suum, Erasmus.

[7] Aream suam, Erasmus, Beza.

[8] Exuret, Erasmus, Beza.

[9] Perpurgabit, Beza. The second "his" bracketed, though the clause with the article distinctly bears it, but it is omitted in the Authorized Version.

had disparaged them as "prejudicial, and that might have well been spared." Could they be inserted without his knowledge? Was not he the last or editorial reviser?[1] Yet in the Epistle to the Philippians, all the annotations but one are from the Genevan; and of more than fifty notes on 1 Corinthians there are only seven not reprinted from the same version. The original marginal notes, which are unevenly distributed, are not nearly so numerous as those of the Genevan version. They are often trite inferences, as at Genesis i, 7, "It is the power of God that holdeth up the clouds"; 14, "These lights were not made to serve astronomers' phantasies"; ii, 19, "Man showed himself lord of the beasts by giving them names." Sometimes the notes are doctrinal, as Gen. i, 26, "One God and three persons"; Deut. vii, 12, "This covenant is grounded on his free grace; therefore in recompensing their obedience he hath respect unto his mercy, and not to their merits." Other notes, beginning with "that is," turn attention to the statement of the text. Some are hortatory and practical, as Luke xvi, 31, "We must seek for truth in God's Word, and not of the dead," and state in a clause what the contents of the paragraph are. Some, beginning with "or," or "some read," give alternative renderings; others are explanatory, as Luke i, 73, "the oath which he sware," which is "that he would give himself to us." Many are historical and geographical, and occasionally the original term is explained or handled, as twice in Rom. viii, and in both verses, 15 and 18, the rendering and sense of the Genevan are directly opposed; Luke iv, 29, "Top of the hill (Greek readeth 'brow of the hill')." Lastly, some notes are explanatory of words in the text, as in Isaiah, "Burden—that is prophecy"; in Ephesians, "mystery is that secret hidden purpose of salvation"; Acts xxviii, 11, "Castor and Pollux — these the Paynims feigned to be Jupiter's chyldren, gods of the sea."

Archaic terms occur: Gen. xxxii, 25, "He smote him upon the hucklebone of his thigh." Isaiah lxvi, 3, "He that killeth a sheep for me knetcheth a dog (margin, that is, cutteth off a dogge's necke)," Coverdale having "choketh a

[1] See page 29 for other examples.

dog." They describe "concision" in the margin, Philip. iii, 2, as "they who craked thereof," "dogges" of *v.* 2 being explained as they that "bark against the true doctrine." The Ballet of Ballets of Solomon is accompanied by a Messianic exegesis, and so are the Prophets.

Burleigh's portrait stands, as we have said, at the beginning of the Psalter, and the story goes that, in rebuking the Earl of Essex for some of his turbulent schemes, he pointed him directly and solemnly to Psalm lv, 23, 24, "The bloodthirstie and deceiptfull men shall not live out halfe their dayes."

The Bible of 1575—the year of Archbishop Parker's death—bears on the separate issues of the same edition the names of various publishers—as Kele, Wally, Judson, Norton, Harrison; and to these names, given by Anderson, may be added Coldock. Two of these men had already borne a part in the joint-publication of Matthew's Bible of 1551. Mr. Anderson, who had a more than healthy detestation of monopolists, appears rather glad to suspect that Jugge was really unable to bear more than a share in this large enterprise.[1]

We learn incidentally the price of this Bible from an old account book of St. John's College, Cambridge, which has the following entry:—"1571, For a new Bible in English, the last translation, 27*s.* 8*d.*"[2]

[1] Annals, vol. II, p. 335; Cotton, p. 39. [2] Cotton, Editions, p. 35.

CHAPTER XL.

THE Bishops' version has co-existing in it two peculiarities directly opposed to each other. It strives often to give the translation with a quaint literality, and yet it does not scruple to interject numerous explanatory words and clauses. The following are a few specimens of the literal translations:—

"Young child," in the second chapter of Matthew; ix, 38, "that he will thrust forth labourers"; xi, 11, "he that is lesse in the kingdom"; xv, 26, 27, "little dogges"; xxi, 19, "one fygge tree"; xxv, 41, "the everlasting fire."

Mark vii, 27, "cast it vnto the little dogges"; xv, 21, "coming out of the field"; 40, "James the Little"; xvi, 2, "when the sun was risen."

Luke ii, 15, "the men, the shepherds," though it renders a similar phrase again and again, "men and brethren," without printing "and" as a supplement; xv, 12, "the portion of the substance"; 20, "and al to kissed him"—an effort to express the full meaning of the compound verb; 23, "that fatted calf"—an attempt to express the force of the repeated article"; 30, "for his pleasure"—expressing the dativus commodi.

John xiv, 2, "In my father's house are many dwelling places."

Acts v, 41, "departed from the face of the counsel"; xiii, 34, "the holy thynges of David which are faythful."

Rom. ii, 6, "keep the ordinances of the law"; v, 4, "Patience proofe, proofe hope"; vi, 12, "should thereunto obey by the lustes of it"; xii, 2, "be changed in your shape"; xiv, 1, "not to doubtfulnesse of disputations"; xvi, 7, "Salute Andronicus and Junia my cousins"—a translation too definite, as in the

Authorized Version, Luke i, 36, after the Genevan, the Great Bible, and Tyndale.

1 Cor. iv, 5, "who wyl lighten the hidden thinges of darknesse"; 7, "For who separateth thee?" xiii, 3, "though I geue my body that I shoulde be burned"; xii, 7, "a pricke to the fleshe."

Gal. vi, 1, "Yf a man be preuented in any fault."

Eph. iv, 9, "the lower parts"; 11, "and he gave some apostles"; 12, "into the work,—into the edifying"; 13, "measure of the age of the fulness"; 14, "to the laying waite to deceive"; 22, 24, "to lay down," "to put on holinesse of trueth."

1 Thess. iii, 10, "repayre the wantings of your faith"; iv, 15, 17, "we whiche liue, whiche remayne."

1 Tim. iii, 6, "not a young scoller."

Titus ii, 11, "healthful to al men."

Heb. i, 1, "in the prophetes . . . . in the Sonne"; 3, "the brightnesse of the glory"; 14, "sent foorth into ministerie for their sakes"; ii, 4, "with signes and wonders also, and with diuers powers"; 16, "for he in no place taketh on him the angels"; iii, 14, "beginning of the substance"; v, 2, "those that erre out of the way"; 14, "have their wits exercised"; vii, 12, "if the priesthood be translated, there is made a translation of the law"; 23, "because they were forbidden by death to endure"; viii, 2, "a minister of holy things"; 11, "from the litel of them to the great of them"; ix, 1, "the fyrst (couenant) then had veryly justifying ordinances"; 10, "justifyinges of the fleshe"; 28, "the seconde time shalbe seene without sinne of them whiche wayte for him"; x, 19, "libertie to enter into holy (places)"; 38, "if he withdraw himself"; xi, 8, "receive the inheritance"; 13, "and saluted."

James i, 11, "For the sunne hath rysen with heat, and the grasse hath wythered, and his floure hath fallen away," &c.; 14, "every good giving"; iii, 4, "whithersoever the lust of the governor wyl."

But they allow their scholarship to slip when they permit "Salamine" in Acts xiii, 5; "Philippos" in xvi, 8, 12; "Mile-

[1] In Ruth i, 17, "depart" is used in the old active sense—"If ought but death depart thee and me"; so in the earlier editions of the Prayer Book.

tum"; in xx, 17, "Asson"; in xx, 14, "Candie," according to the margin, or "Creta, which was an high hill of Candie," in xxiii, 7; "and Puteolus," in xxviii, 13.

But, face to face with these renderings which exhibit an aim and effort to be faithfully literal, there are other modes of bringing out the sense, by supplied terms filling out the clause, and now and then explaining it—the translator wrapping quietly into his work a hint for the interpreter. While the interpolations from the Vulgate found in the Great Bible are often abandoned, some are allowed to remain. There are also interspersed many brief exegetical clauses which are no necessary part of a genuine translation, and are out of all harmony with the earnest attempt at a closer literality. Some of them are mere supplements, which do not materially injure the rendering, as—

Genesis xiv, 15, "his seruantes were parted (in companies) agaynst them"; xxvii, 14, "and (Jacob) went."

1 Kings i, 23, "Beholde (here cometh) Nathan the Prophet"; viii, 43, (therefore) heare thou in heauen thy dwellyng place"; xviii, 19, "the prophets of the (idolles) groaues."

2 Kings iv, 3, "borowe vessels for thee (of them that are) without."

Job xxxii, 6, "and sayde (consydering that) I am yong."

Isaiah i, 5, "(for) ye are euer falling away"; 6, "there is nothing sounde in it (but) woundes"; x, 10, "(As who say) I am able to winne the kingdomes"; xxxvii, 15, "Hezekia prayed vnto the Lord (on this manner)."

Matthew, iv, 25, "and from (the regions that laye) beyond Jordane"; xiii, 48, "which when it was full (the fishers) drew to land"; xvi, 5, 7, "they had forgotten to take bread (with them)"; xxvi, 71, "another (wenche) sawe him."

Mark x, 7, "(And sayde) For this cause shall a man"; xiii, 32, "save the father (only)."

John xix, 31, "because it was the preparing (of the Sabboth)."

1 Cor. v, 10, "(I did not meane) not at all with the fornicatours of this world."

Hebrews xi, 19, "(similitude of the resurrection)"; xii, 4, "Ye have not resisted vnto (the sheddyng of) blood."

1 Peter i, 7, "might be found (to be unto you)."

But there are other supplements which are decidedly wrong, and which weaken the sense either by paraphrasing it or by adding clauses which have no authority:—

Exodus xv, 9, "I wil folow (on them), I will ouertake (them)."

Deut. i, 46, "that ye remayned (before)"; xix, 13, "put away (the crye of) innocent bloud."

Judges vii, 5, "and (so doo) them that kneele downe"; xvii, 8, "where he could finde (conuenient place)."

1 Sam. ii, 32, "thou shalt see thine enimie in the habitation (of the Lorde), and in al the wealthe whiche (God) shall give Israell."

2 Sam. ix, 11, "Mephiboseth may eate (as the king sayde) vpon my table."

Isaiah i, 7, "the destruction of enemies (in the time of warre)"; 31, "the very strong one (of your idols) shal be as towe"; ii, 21, "when he aryseth to destroy (the wicked ones of) the earth"; viii, 19, "If they say vnto you, Aske counsell at soothsayers, wytches, charmers, and conjurors (thene make them this answer)"; ix, 2, "as men that diuide the spoyel (after the victorie)"; xxviii, 6, "turne away the battayle to the gate (of the enemies)"; xl, 1, "Comfort my people (O yee prophetes)"; xliv, 7, "what shall come to passe (in tyme long to come)"; xlix, 12, "the land of Sinis (which is in the south)"; liv, 15, "loe who so gathereth together (against thee, doth it) without me"; lxv, 18, "(But the Lord sayth), Be glad."

Mark xiv, 62, "the right hand of the power (of God)."

Luke i, 56, "and (afterwarde) returned to her owne house"; xvi, 21, "to be refreshed with the crummes which fel from the rich man's borde (and no man gave vnto him)."

John xviii, 13, "(and Annas sent Christe bounde vnto Caiaphas the High Priest)."

Acts ix, 22, "by conferring (one scripture with another)."

Romans iv, 16, "by faith (in the inheritance given)"; v, 18, "(sinne came on all . . . good came)"; xi, 4, "bowed the

knee to (the image of) Baal"; xii, 17, "Providing afore hande thinges honest (not onely before God, but also) in the sight of men"; xvi, 27, "to (the same) God."

1 Cor. x, 30, "For if I by (God's) benefite may be partaker (of the gyftes of God)."

Eph. ii, 5, "by (whose) grace ye are saved."

Hebrews, ii, 9, "wee see (that it was) Jesus"; v, 5, "to-day I have begotten thee (gaue it him)"; xiii, 3, "in the body (subject to adversitie)."

1 Peter ii, 2, "that ye may growe thereby (vnto salvation)."

Revelation ix, 11, "Apollyon (that is to say destroyer)."

This Bible is, however, to be commended for its occasional notice of the article, and of the conjunctions and small connecting words so often overlooked. But it often turns an adjectival epithet into the predicate of a distinct clause—as 2 Cor. v, 18, "things which are seen"; viii, 4, "things that are offered to idols"; and if it did not introduce such forms, it kept them. Nor does it mark very correctly the important distinction of tenses—rendering the aorist often as a perfect, and sometimes as a pluperfect, as in Eph. i, 4, "had chosen us." It aims at giving full force to compound terms, as Eph. vi, 12, "against worldly governors[1] of the darknesse of this world"; but it occasionally fails in its effort, as when it renders a compound verb, Rom. xv, 20, "so have I enforced myself,"[2]—for "I have made it a point of honour." It is, as a whole, more stately than precise; periods that might appear bald are rounded off, it loves "mouthfilling" words and sentences, and does not pare them down, if they have been employed in earlier versions—2 Cor. ix, 5, "prepare your prepromised beneficence, that it might be ready as a beneficence and not as an extortion." 2 Pet. ii, 16, "the dumbe beast and used to the yoke."

The Episcopal revisers and their colleagues had, in general, the same Hebrew and Greek text as was possessed by the Genevan revisers. They refer to their text now and then by the phrase in the margin, "Some read," or "Beza readeth it,"

[1] κοσμοκράτορας. [2] φιλοτιμούμενον.

or "The Greek readeth." But the process of revision employed in the preparation of this Elizabethan Bible led to a virtual want of uniformity in the various parts of it. There had been little consultation among the revisers, and there was not that final supervision of their work which had been suggested by Bishop Sandys. This individuality occasionally crops out—some portions being more lenient toward the old versions, and others more incisive in their changes. What would be true as a critical estimate of one book would not be true to the same extent of another book. The work was done in isolation, and, in such a case, the labour needed to bring it all into harmony would have been tantamount to another revision. It is only by earnest deliberation, the constant exchange of critical opinion, and the survey of a term or an idiom on all sides, that a good and popular version can be formed. A new rendering must be filtered through many brains before it can be finally adopted. The earliest translators were virtually individual workers, and their versions bear the stamp of personal toil. The Genevan was the first version that sprang from collegiate labour, and it had naturally on this account, no small superiority. But the Bishops, and the other scholars associated with them, seem to have wrought independently, and without any critical or literary fellowship. Archbishop Parker, who was so absorbed in civil and ecclesiastical business of all kinds, put the last hand to the work; but it could not be well done in so brief a time, and without earnest and prolonged co-operation.

The Bishops' Bible tried to classify the Books of Scripture, but upon no sound basis—"some legal, some historical, some sapiential, some prophetical"—a distinction which could not be applied without violence to the New Testament; for why should the Gospels be termed legal and not historical? According to one of the rules which Parker repeated to Cecil, an attempt was also made to point out, "with some stroke or note," such places "as may not be edifying," that they may "be excluded in public reading," as Gen. x and xi, 10-30; xxxviii, 1-11, Levit. xii-xxiv, 1st Chron. i-ix, and Neh. viii and x. Words that "sound to any offence of lightness or obscenity"

were to be changed, and more convenient terms substituted, as in 1 Samuel vi, 4, of the Great Bible, and in 1 Corinthians vi, 9, of the Genevan Bible; but other expressions that might have been removed were retained, as in 1 Samuel xxv, 22, 34, &c., and these are yet found in the Authorized Version.

In a convocation held under Grindal, in 1575, it was carried that bishops were to take care that all incumbents and curates such as are not Masters of Arts, should possess the New Testament in Latin and in English, and read a chapter every day. But such edicts do not seem to have commanded prompt or general obedience; and in 1587 Whitgift issued some new regulations, "for divers churches were not sufficiently furnished with Bibles—some having none at all, or such as be torn and defaced, and yet not of the translation authorized by the synod of bishops." To expedite obedience two editions were printed, "a bigger and less, both of which are now extant and ready." This was a deliberate attempt to sacrifice the Genevan version to the cause of uniformity, and to secure the greater circulation of the Bishops' Bible; but the stratagem did not succeed, for in the years 1587-89 we find that only two editions of the Bishops' were published, as against seven at least of the Genevan.

Cranmer's or the Great Bible was now superseded, and no edition of it was printed after 1569, but in that year there were three issues in quarto by Cawood. No edition of the Bishops' was issued after 1606, so that it survived Whitgift only two years. Whitgift often quotes the Genevan version in his Replies to his tough antagonist Cartwright, and he always mentions it in a tone of bare civility. Cartwright used it as giving edge to his arguments, and Whitgift was obliged to put it to another use. He usually calls it "the Bible printed at Geneva,"[1] or "the Geneva Bible," but he is silent as to its merits, and as to the character of its translators; whereas Cartwright styles them "those learned and godly men." Whitgift could not vilify the renderings—he was too scholarly a man to indulge in such hostile criticism; but he longed and laboured that the Bishops' Bible should be universally used, and, indeed, if

[1] Works, vol. I, pp. 203, 294, &c.

68074

his "Injunctions" had been obeyed, there would soon have been no copies left in the printer's hands. The Genevan was not, however, so easily thrust aside. From 1560, the year of its first publication, to the end of Elizabeth's reign there were published about ninety editions of it, but under thirty of the Bishops'. The Genevan had thus three times the circulation of the Bishops'; nay, in the year 1599, there appear to have been seven editions of it, some of them, however, printed abroad. The Bishops' Bible, which never had any great popularity, was not printed after 1606, as we have said, though its New Testament was published several times;[1] but the Genevan kept its ground till about the year 1644. After 1590 the demand for the Bishops' seems to have greatly slackened, for from that year to the end of the century only three editions were published; but about thirty of the Genevan, a third of them being only New Testaments. From the accession of James to 1611 there was apparently published only one edition of the Bishops', but thirty of the Genevan.[2]

Thus, for a time, three different versions were in circulation—a fact that would have delighted Coverdale, but it must have been somewhat embarrassing to plain people of ordinary education and intellect. If any one appealed to Scripture, it might be asked whether the appeal was to the Great Bible, the Genevan, or the Bishops'. It appears, however, that this embarrassment created a desire for unity. In the library of the House of Lords there is the sketch of "an Act for reducing diversities of Bibles now extant in the English tongue to one settled Vulgar translated from the original." The preamble declares "that great errors arise, and papistry and atheism increase, from the variety of translations of the Bible, while many desire an authorized translation." The proposal was that the Lords Spiritual, or any six of them, may assemble, treat, and deal touching the accomplishment of the work, and call for the assistance of students of either university, &c. The undated paper is believed to refer to a period after 1568.[3] Gregory Martin did not overlook this

[1] See page 36.

[2] There had also been published four editions of Tyndale's New Testament between 1560 and 1570.

[3] Westcott's History of the English Bible, p. x, 2nd edition.

plurality of versions: "We must learn," he says, in his own style and spirit, "what English translation is read in their church (which were hard to know, it changeth so oft) before we may be held to accuse them of false translation, how shall we be sure that they will stand to any of their translations?[1] From the first read in their church they flee to that which is now read, and from that again to the later Genevan Bibles, neither read in their churches nor of greater authority among them, and we doubt not but that they will as fast flee from this to the former again." But Fulke defends with ability and learning the three versions in use—the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops'. His words are a noble vindication of the fidelity of all the translators: "We never go from that text and ancient reading which all the fathers used and expounded; but we translate that most usual text which was first printed out of the most ancient copies that could be found; or if any be since found, or if the ancient fathers did read otherwise than the usual copies, or any word that is in any way material in annotation, commentaries, readings, and sermons, we spare not, and declare it as occasion serveth. We never flee from the Hebrewe and Greeke in anie place, much less in places of controversie; but we alwaies hold, as near as we can, that which the Greeke and Hebrewe signifieth. But if, in places of controversie, we take witnesse of the Greeke, or Vulgar Latine, where the Hebrew or the Greeke may be thought ambiguous, I trust no wise man will count this a flight from the Hebrew and Greeke, which we alwaies translate aright, whether it agree with the 70, or Vulgar Latin, or no."[2] "Happy, and thrice happy, hath our English nation bene, since God hath given learned translators to expresse in our mother tongue the heavenly mysteries of his Holy Word, delivered to his Church in the Hebrew and Greeke languages; who although they have, in some matters of no importance unto salvation, as men bene deceived; yet have they faithfully delivered the whole substance of the heavenly doctrine conteyned in the

[1] Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions, p. 9-11, Rhemes, 1582.

[2] Defence of Sincere and True Translations, &c., pp. 99, 100, Parker Society Edition.

Holy Scriptures, without any hereticale translations or wilfull corruptions."[1] When in 1570, twelve years before Gregory Martin wrote, the Queen had been formally excommunicated, the result was that the nation, enlightened and braced by the free circulation of the English Scriptures, began to realize more fully its final severance from popish thraldom, and to cling to Elizabeth more closely as the guardian of its liberties, so that the day of her accession was from that period observed as a popular festival, and joyously hailed as "the birth-day of the Gospel."

[1] Defence of Sincere and True Translations, &c., p. 591, Parker Society Edition.

THE RHEIMS AND DOUAI VERSION.

"THAT the Scriptures be not to be set forth in the vulgar tongue to be read of all sorts of people, every part of them, without any limitation of time, place, and persons, they seem to be moved with these considerations: first, that it is not necessary; next, that it is not convenient; thirdly, that it is not profitable; fourthly, that it is dangerous and hurtful; and lastly, although it were accorded the common people to have liberty to read the Bible in their own tongue, yet that the translations of late years made by those that have divided themselves from the Catholic Church be not to be allowed, as worthily suspected not to be sound and assured."

HARDING, 1563.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE version which is now to be considered was immediately and professedly taken from the Vulgate—that is, the revision and translation of Jerome. We do not, however, like the Rhemists, hold the Vulgate in so high esteem as to put it in the place of the Greek original. Its fidelity and literary merits are not beyond impeachment, though occasionally its readings in the New Testament are confirmed by Greek MSS. of high authority: like the expressions, "Spirit of Jesus," Acts xvi, 7; "the Lord Christ," 1 Pet. iii, 15. Wycliffe's old and literal translation of it was rough, for the Latin of the Vulgate is rough also—in its archaic forms, and its numerous and unusual compounds; in its peculiar words and constructions; its large class of verbs, verbal forms, and nouns made out of adjectives in its frequent employment of the genitive of abstract nouns in room of a qualificative epithet, and of prepositions to mark a relation that might have been expressed by a case; in its use both of a gerund [1] and of *quod* with the indicative or subjunctive for an infinitive; and in the approximation of its pronouns to the Greek article. Its style was mixed through its circulation in North Africa. The classic order and position of the words are often violated, so that possessive pronouns became of necessary frequency; the distinction between the perfect and imperfect, especially of the substantive verb, is lost sight of; *quia* [2] ap-

[1] Matt. xx, 19, "ad illudendum, et flagellandum et crucifigendum"; though John xix, 16, reads "tradidit eis illum ut crucifigeretur."

[2] As "audistis quia dictum est"—"that it was said"—again and again in Matt. v, and in vii, 23, xxii, 16, and Luke i, 58.

pears, not in the sense of "because," but of "that"; and *ac, atque, et* are used without discrimination.[1] Older forms which

[1] There are also such paronomasia as "Neque nubent neque nubentur" (Cod. Pal., "nubunt") Matt. xxii, 30; "Non venit ministrari, sed ministrare," compared with Mark x, 45; Gen. ii, 23, "Hæc vocabitur Virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est." There are such imitations of the Greek as Luke xiii, 33, "Non capit prophetam perire extra Jerusalem" (Codex Palinus, "non est possibile"); Matt. vi, 26, "Nonne vos magis pluris estis illis?" xxiv, 22, "Non fieret salva omnis caro"—Campbell tartly remarking on this last rendering "that Arias found nothing to alter in it, in order to bring it down to his own level." Other solecisms may be adduced: Gen. xxi, 26, "Non audivi præter hodie"; Gen. xlii, 13, "Alius non est super,"—for "superest"; Ps. lxvii, 20, "Benedictus Dominus die quotidie"; Ps. cxxv, 1, "In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion facti sumus sicut consolati"; Luke vii, 37, "Lamentavimus vobis"; xxi, 38, "Omnis populus manicabat ad eum"; John xv, 2, "Ut fructum plus afferat." Besides, there are peculiar forms of spelling, and of case, number, conjugation, and syntax. There are many nouns ending in -mentum, like inquinamentum, operimentum; in -amen, like cogitamen, spiramen; in -arium, like atramentarium; in -ulum, like habitaculum, pinnaculum; in -entia, like concupiscentia, sufferentia; in -itas, like religiositas, supervacuitas; in -or, like dulcor, placor; in -udo, like grossitudo, pœnitudo; in -ula, like auricula, casula;—adjectives in -bilis, like concupiscibilis, inexstinguibilis; in -bundus, as fumigabundus, formulabundus; in -atus, like linguatus, pudoratus. There are also verbs like plagiare, tribulare; compounds like animaequus, concaptivus; phrases like "a longe," "de semel"; nouns which are Greek terms expressed in Roman letters, as brabium, grabatus. Terms occur also with an unusual signification: argumentum, a mark or sketch; cœnapura, the preparation (for a series of conjectures as to the origin and incoming of this phrase, see Rönsch, p. 367); conditio, creation; conversatio, manner of life; diffidentia, unbelief; honestas, riches; opinio, rumour; prævaricatio, transgression; resolutio, death; sacramentum, mystery; substantia, goods; fidelis, believing; impossibilis, impotent; incredibilis, unbelieving; advocare, to console; deprecari, to ask earnestly; honestare, to make rich (honorarium); Archbishop Parker speaks of "honesting a Mr. Dr. Clark with a room in the Arches" (Correspondence, p. 411, Parker Soc. ed.) These terms are but a brief specimen, but may serve to show the peculiar Latin of the Vulgate; and, living in the language of the people, such peculiarities abound also in the old Latin version, the Itala. The critical remarks of Lord Macaulay on the kind of Latin used in the Church service in contrast with the English of the Liturgy, bear on the point before us, and are worth quotation. "The English Liturgy indeed gains by being compared even with those fine ancient liturgies from which it

had passed out of classical use reappear in the Vulgate through the tenacity of the popular speech.[1]

But though we cannot hold such exaggerated views of the merits of the Vulgate as did the Rhemists, to whom it was "true and authentical scripture," nor accept the Tridentine edict which so unduly exalted it, yet we cannot but regard it as of great value, even with the conflicting variations between the Sixtine and Clementine editions. The text of the Vulgate was discussed at the Council of Trent in 1546, but it was at length declared to be "authentic."[2] A revision of it was carried out by a board, of which Cardinal Caraffa was president, but Pope Sixtus arbitrarily altered the text, and then "in the plenitude of apostolic power" authorized it for the churches. On its publication in 1590, it was found to be very imperfect, and a second company, under the presidency of Cardinal Colonna, undertook another revision, which was published in 1592, in the reign of Pope Clement VIII, and it too has many blunders. The discrepancies between those editions, both formally sanctioned by papal

is to a great extent taken. The essential qualities of devotional eloquence, conciseness, majestic simplicity, pathetic earnestness of supplication, sobered by a profound reverence, are common between the translations and the originals. But in the subordinate graces of diction the originals must be allowed to be far inferior to the translations. And the reason is obvious. The technical phraseology of Christianity did not become a part of the Latin language till that language had passed the age of maturity and was sinking into barbarism. But the technical phraseology of Christianity was found in the Anglosaxon and in the Norman French, long before the union of those two dialects had produced a third dialect superior to either. The Latin of the Roman Catholic services, therefore, is Latin in the last stage of decay. The English of our services is English in all the vigour and suppleness of early youth. To the great Latin writers, to Terence and Lucretius, to Cicero and Cæsar, to Tacitus and Quintilian, the noblest compositions of Ambrose and Gregory would have seemed to be, not merely bad writing, but senseless gibberish." History of England, vol. III, p. 475.

[1] Itala und Vulgata, das Sprachidiom der Urchristlichen Itala und der Katholischen Vulgata, unter Berücksichtigung der Römischer Volkssprache. VonHermannRönsch, 2nd ed., Marburg, 1875. Kaulen, Geschichte der Vulgata, p. 131.

[2] See Geschichte der Vulgata, von Leander van Ess, Tübingen 1824.

authority, are very numerous, as may be seen in James's Bellum Papale, 1600.[1]

Yet, in spite of such points in its history, the Vulgate has many claims for the place which it so long held, and for the good which it so often effected. It was, in the absence of the original, the only accessible Bible in mediæval Western Europe — "a light shining," though with vailed lustre, "in a dark place." It did its appointed work, and brought peace and strength to many hearts, opening up to them a glimpse of the glorified One above and beyond the crucifix, creating a fulness of trust that felt no need of saintly mediation, nursing a loyalty to Him so intense and absorbing that it looked down upon the keys of St. Peter as a paltry symbol, while it sustained a confidence in Him that hard dogma could not deaden, and an adoration of Him which a complicated and inflexible ritual could not petrify. The religious community, whose book it was, kept the Roman empire from falling into barbarism at its dissolution. In spite of its growing superstition and tyranny, the Western Church scattered round it many blessings. Music, painting, and architecture were fostered by it; the figured windows in the churches were the poor man's Bible, where he saw in vivid group and colouring the power and pity of the Son of Mary.[2] Its compact organization gave it a great power, which it often wielded for the good of society in days of ignorance and war. It broke the bonds of the serf, opened an asylum for the exile and outcast, restrained the fury of the oppressor, and softened the haughty rigour of the nobility. Grandees quailed before its ministers invested with a superhuman authority which they were afraid to resist, and were unable to define, for its mastery stretched into the invisible world. The abbey was often a rebuke to the castle, and was an almshouse for the poor, an hospital for the sick, an inn for the traveller, and a retreat for the weary and forlorn in heart. Its farms presented the best

[1] Reprinted under the editorial care of J. E. Cox, M.A., London, 1840.

[2] The "Biblia pauperum," consisting of forty plates, printed from wooden blocks, and depicting scenes and persons from Scripture, served a similar purpose.

specimens of tillage, and its blooming orchards were a reproof to all who loitered in the "vineyard of the sluggard." In the midst of many drawbacks, inconsistencies, and errors, the Latin Church may glory in pointing to the heroic and self-denying toils and sufferings of its missionaries and martyrs, whose romantic lives are grander than fiction, and who met their death, not merely with saintly calmness, but prophetic exultation. Those noble souls were baptized with the Holy Spirit; the true unction filled them with a seraphic devoutness, which did not depend on a gorgeous service with its music, incense, and images. The mystics who had felt the power of the unseen, and were rapt into hidden communing with God, did not rest on a sacerdotal ministry. The Houses, especially of the Benedictine class, so magnificent in architecture, often and honestly strove in earlier times to realize the ideal of their founder. In them was conserved whatever of science or art was known; and in them was copied, for circulation, the Latin Bible which preserved for centuries the knowledge of the Gospel, and gave their first inspiration to the Reformers. The old saying was "claustrum sine armario, castrum sine armentario." The Scriptorium was often filled with busy and tasteful copyists. Ordericus Vitalis tells of a monk who, though he had been a habitual transgressor of monastic rules, yet had copied a handsome volume of Scripture, and that, when after death he stood before the divine tribunal in the crisis of his destiny, the accusing spirits and the good angels made a bargain that every letter in the transcribed Bible should stand in merit against every sin adduced, the result being that by the credit of a single letter the trembling culprit escaped—"the mercy of the Judge being extended toward him."

On the other hand the popish system became at length exclusive, claimed of divine right a paramount jurisdiction over all kingdoms, interfered with their policy by diplomacy, menace, and anathema, in order to bind them as vassals to the Papal chair. The primates in England and in other countries became statesmen and were rewarded by preferments for their work as politicians; the mitre proudly reared itself above coronets, and the dispensation of human

law left little room for the ministry of the Gospel. Wherever the Papacy had the power, it punished as heresy all variation of opinion, and repressed free thought, honest inquiry, and mental development. In short, it obscured the way of salvation by its ecclesiastical apparatus, the priest standing before Christ received confession, granted absolution, or carried on a scandalous traffic in indulgences; penance took the visible place of "godly sorrow," and the mass with its pretentious miracle of transubstantiation superseded an ordinance sublime in its simplicity, for its grand purpose is told in nine English monosyllables—"Ye do show the Lord's death till He come." The word of God was virtually proscribed, and the reading of it put under a ban, in order to keep the people passive under the tutelage of the priesthood. Cardinal Ximenes, who had spent at least £25,000 and many years of anxiety on the production of the Complutensian Polyglott and its various texts, shuddered at the desecration involved in giving the conquered and proselytized Moors the Bible in their own language, as Archbishop Talavera had suggested—"for it would be casting pearls before swine." [1]

The Romish Church has ever been reluctant to give vernacular Scriptures to the people. The Council of Toulouse in 1229 made a stern prohibition, and the Council of Trent followed the same course in 1564. This act was confirmed by Pope Clement VIII in 1596, by Benedict XIV in 1757, by Pius VII in 1816, by Leo XII in 1824, and by Gregory XVI in 1844, whose encyclical brief told his "venerable brethren" to seize out of the hands of the faithful "Bibles translated into the vulgar tongue." Nor has Pius IX been behind his predecessors in this antibiblical crusade. But Pius VI wrote in 1778 to Martini a commendation of his Italian version, and the letter, translated into English, is found in many modern editions. Copies of the Scriptures are now common among Catholics.

Some of the reasons for refusing the Bible to the laity are amusing, and others are advanced with perverse ingenuity.

[1] Life of Ximenes, English Translation, p. 72.

One of the divines of Douai, Dr. Kellison, in his answer to Sutcliffe, argues that as the inscription on the cross was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, "therefore the church would have God's word not to be written commonly in any other tongue than in one of those three sanctified tongues." [1] After saying that, on the question of the circulation of the Bible, Popery and Protestantism are antagonistic, "and we glory in avowing it," Cardinal Wiseman [2] asserts that the Catholics "do not give the Bible indiscriminately to all, because God himself has not so given it"; that the "reading" of it is not a term of salvation, while "hearing is"; that "paper and ink are not the badges of His apostles' calling, but the keys of the kingdom"; that the church has no instinct toward Bible reading; and that where "universal license to read the Scriptures prevails, church government declines"—"We do not encourage the people to read them, we do not spread them to the utmost among them. Certainly not." There was an especial and instinctive horror of an open English Bible both in the days of Wycliffe and Tyndale, as if the hierarchy had forecast what the result might come to be.

For a time at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, Catholics attended the English service; but the Inquisition and the Pope on being consulted strongly denounced all such compromise. Several Catholics had left England on the accession of Elizabeth, and had naturally found a refuge in the Popish countries of the Continent. The English Bible in use could not be appreciated or used by them, for it was tainted in its very origin. But as it was in extensive circulation, they were afraid of it, and thought to check its influence by a rival version—guarded by stringent dogmatic notes. The English refugees at Geneva had made a popular translation, why might not Popish exiles do a similar work for their own party still residing in the land from which they had fled? It was not indeed deemed necessary that Catholics should have or read a Bible in their mother tongue; and the history of the English Bible showed that the Romish powers

[1] Rhemes, 1608. Cotton's Rhemes and Doway, p. 5.

[2] Catholic Doctrine, pp. 20, 21.

steadily discountenanced all such versions, and sometimes put to death both translators and possessors as guilty of treason against the Pope and the authority of the church. But it was somehow felt that Popish religionists should be put upon a level with their Protestant countrymen, and that they should have prepared for them a Bible in English—or at least in such English as would show that it belonged to a Latin community.

In referring to the publication of this New Testament King James' translators were tempted to say in their preface: "Now the Church of Rome would seeme at the length to bear a motherly affection towards her children, and to allow them the Scriptures in their mother tongue: but indeed it is a gift, not deseruing to be called a gift, an vnprofitable gift: they must first get a Licence in writing before they may vse them, and to get that, they must approue themselues to their Confessor. . . . Yea, so vnwilling they are to communicate the Scriptures to the peoples vnderstanding in any sort, that they are not ashamed to confesse, that wee forced them to translate it into English against their wills. This seemeth to argue a bad cause, or a bad conscience, or both. Sure we are, that it is not he that hath good gold, that is afraid to bring it to the touchstone, but he that hath the counterfeit; neither is it the true man that shunneth the light, but the malefactour, least his deedes should be reproued: neither is it the plaine dealing merchant that is vnwilling to haue the waights, or the meteyard brought in place, but he that vseth deceit. But we will let them alone for this fault, and returne to translation."

A number of English Catholics had settled at Douai in Flanders in 1568, and established a ".Seminarie" for the training of priests who were to win England back to the Catholic faith. Many agents trained in the seminary did visit England at various times, some with the resolution of assassinating the queen; and several of these enthusiasts, nurtured by the Pope and Philip II of Spain, were discovered, as were Campian and his colleagues, Sherwin and Briant, who, on the 1st December, 1581, paid the penalty of their life not as Papists but as traitors. The queen,

quite aware of these plots to murder her, said once, in addressing her Parliament, "I know no creature that breathes whose life standeth hourly in more peril than mine own." After a Huguenot riot the magistrates ordered the departure of the Catholic refugees, and the college was broken up by De Requescens, the representative of Spain, but the Duke of Guise gave it a residence at Rheims in France. The Seminary returned to Douai in 1593, and it found a final resting place in England at Old Hall Green, in the parish of Standon, and county of Hertford. At Rheims the work of translating was carried on, and accordingly the New Testament was published at that place in 1582. One of the translators, Gregory Martin, had been one of the original scholars of St. John's College, Oxford, and M.A. in 1564. After concealing his change of opinion for some time he passed over to Douai in 1570, and after a short sojourn at Rome he became a divinity reader in the English seminary of Rheims. He died 1584. He is declared by Wood to have been "an excellent linguist," exactly read and versed in the Holy Scriptures, and went beyond others of his time in humane literature." He was the principal translator of the entire Bible; and his death is said to have been hastened by his incessant toil. William Allen, another of the company, had been a canon of York and principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in the reign of Queen Mary; but going at her death to Louvain, he was made a doctor of divinity, a canon of Cambray, and afterwards of Rheims, where, by his energy and enthusiasm, he was the chief means of establishing the Popish seminary for English students. Under Pope Sixtus V he was consecrated Archbishop of Mechlin and raised to the rank of cardinal. Had the Spanish Armada conquered, he, as "Cardinal of England," was to have been Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate; and he had composed and printed in Flanders a pastoral address to be carried over by the Duke of Parma and circulated as soon as he effected a landing.[1] His extreme outbursts of prejudice went far beyond truth, as when he says of the

[1] Dewes, Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, p. 328.

queen, "She is a caitiff under God's and Holy Church's curse, given up to a reprobate mind, therefore her open enormities and her secret sins must be great and not numerable." Nicholas Sanders, another notorious Catholic of that period, was so unveracious as to assert that the prayers offered to the Virgin in the Catholic Church are in the English Prayer Book presented to Queen Elizabeth. Bishop Andrewes says of him, "His forehead was surely flint and his tongue a razor."[1] Another of the band was Richard Bristow, M.A., Christ's Church, Oxford, afterwards Fellow of Exeter College, who, going in 1569 to Louvain, abjured Protestantism. He became reader of divinity at Douai, and afterwards at Rheims, where he prepared the notes of the New Testament. Thomas Worthington studied at Oxford, but joined his party at Douai, and then was sent to Rheims, where he became president of the college. He is said to have prepared the annotations and tables for the Old Testament.

The New Testament was published at Rheims in 1582, with the following long title:

"The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages: With argvments of bookes and chapters, annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for the discouerie of the corruptions of diuers late translations, and for cleering the controuersies in religion, of these daies: IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE OF RHEMES.

"Psal. 118. Da mihi intellectum, et scrutabor legem tuam, et custodiam illam in toto corde meo. That is, Giue me vnderstanding, and I wil searche thy law and wil keepe it with my whole hart.

"S. Aug., tract. 2 in Epist. Joan. Omnia quae in Scripturis sanctis, ad instructionem et salutem nostram, intente oportet audire; maxime memoriae commendanda sunt, quae aduersus hereticos valent plurimum: quorum insidiae, infirmiores quosque et negligentiores circumuenire non cessant.

[1] Tortura Torti, p. 143.

"That is,

"All things that are readde in holy Scriptures we must heare with great attention, to our instruction and saluation, but those things specially must be commended to memorie, which make most against Heretikes: whose deceites cease not to circumuent and beguile al the weaker sort and the more negligent persons.

"Printed at Rhemes, by John Fogny. 1582. Cvm privilegio."

The Preface is long and elaborate, its general spirit being that of defence and explanation; admitting that what they have done is after all a superfluous labour, there being no real necessity for it, and its only occasion being "the present time, state, and condition of our country." They are at a loss to assign a specific reason for a work which Scripture forbids, and yet does not forbid; allows, and still disallows; and their statements are given with such a nicety of distinctions and such balancings, that only subtile minds can apprehend them; for their church neither prohibits, nor commands, nor yet treats the matter as one of forbearance. As they acted on such ambiguous views, their English Bible is scarcely intelligible to common people, so many ecclesiastical terms are preserved unchanged or are slightly altered. The version is completely papalized, for they purposed to add a new bulwark to their Zion, and make the interposition of the priesthood still necessary to the full understanding of the Word of God. The Latinized English of the version would have delighted the heart of Bishop Gardyner. Appeals are made to the fathers on these points, and there are eloquent descriptions of the abuses of profane and promiscuous Scripture reading. Other translations are also tersely censured.

As none of the more recent editions of the Rheims New Testament contain the preface, a few paragraphs from it may be given:—

"Which translation we doe not for al that publish, vpon erroneous opinion 1 of necessitie, that the holy Scriptures should alwaies be in our mother tongue, or 2 that they ought, or were ordained by God, to be read indifferently of

al, or 3 could be easily vnderstood of euery one that readeth or heareth them in a knowen language: or 4 that they were not often, through mans malice or infirmitie, pernicious and much hurtful to many: 5 or that we generally and absolutely deemed it more conuenient in it self, and more agreeable to Gods word and honour, or edification of the faithful, to haue them turned into vulgar tongues, than to be kept and studied only in the Ecclesiastical learned languages: Not for these nor any such like causes do we translate this sacred booke, but vpon special consideration of the present time, state, and condition of our countrie, vnto which, diuers things are either necessarie, or profitable and medicinable now, that otherwise in the peace of the Church were neither much requisite, nor perchance wholy tolerable."

"1. In this matter, to marke only the wisdom and moderation of holy Church and the gouernours thereof on the one side, and the indiscrete zeale of the popular, and their factious leaders, on the other, is a high point of prudence. These later, partly of simplicitie, partly of curiositie, and specially of pride and disobedience, haue made claime in this case for the common people, with plausible pretences many, but good reasons none at al. The other, to whom Christ hath giuen charge of our soules, the dispensing of Gods mysteries and treasures (among which holy Scripture is no small store) and the feeding his familie in season with foode fit for euery sort, haue neither of old nor of late, euer wholy condemned al vulgar versions of Scripture, nor haue at any time generally forbidden the faithful to reade the same: yet they haue not by publike authoritie prescribed, commaunded, or authentically euer recommended any such interpretation to be indifferently vsed of al men. . . .

"Now since Luthers reuolt also, diuers learned Catholikes for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forth by sundry sectes, and for the better preseruation or reclaime of many good soules endandered thereby, haue published the Bible in the several languages of almost al the principal prouinces of the Latin Church: no other bookes in the world being so pernicious as heretical

translations of the Scriptures, poisoning the people vnder colour of diuine authoritie, and not many other remedies being more soueraine against the same (if it be vsed in order, discretion, and humilitie) then the true, faithful, and sincere interpretation opposed therevnto.

"2. Which causeth the holy Church not to forbid vtterly any Catholic translation, though she allow not the publishing or reading of any absolutely and without exception, or limitation: knowing by her diuine and most sincere wisedom, how, where, when, and to whome these her Maisters and Spouses giftes are to be bestowed to the most good of the faithful: and therfore neither generally permitteth that which muste needes doe hurt to the vnworthy, nor absolutely condemneth that which may doe much good to the worthy. Where upon, the order which many a wise man wished for before, was taken by the Deputies of the late famous Councel of Trent in this behalfe, and confirmed by supreme authoritie, that the holy Scriptures, though truly and Catholikely translated into vulgar tonges, yet may not be indifferently readde of al men, nor of any other then such as haue expresse licence therevnto of their lawful Ordinaries, with good testimonie from their Curates or Confessors, that they be humble, discrete and deuout persons, and like to take much good, and no harme thereby. Which prescript, though in these daies of ours it can not be so precisely obserued, as in other times and places, where there is more due respecte of the Churches authoritie, rule, and discipline: yet we trust al wise and godly persons wil vse the matter in the meanwhile, with such moderation, meekeness, and subiection of hart, as the handling of so sacred a booke, and sincere senses of Gods truth therein, and the holy Canons, Councels, reason, and religion do require.

"Wherein, though for due preseruation of this diuine worke from abuse and prophanation, and for the better bridling of the intolerable insolencie of proud, curious, and contentius wittes, the gouernours of the Church guided by Gods Spirit, as euer before, so also vpon more experience of the maladie of this time then before, haue taken more exacte order both for the readers and translatours in these later ages, then of old,

yet we must not imagin that in the primitiue Church, either euery one that vnderstoode the learned tonges wherein the Scriptures were written, or other languages into which they were translated, might without reprehension, read, reason, dispute, turne and tosse the Scriptures: or that our forefathers suffered euery schole-maister, scholer, or Grammarian that had a little Greeke or Latin, straight to take in hand the holy Testament: or that the translated Bibles into the vulgar tonges, were in the hands of euery husband man, artificer, prentice, boies, girles, mistresse, maide, man: that they were sung, plaied, alleaged, of euery tinker, tauerner, rimer, minstrel: that they were for table talke, for alebenches, for boates and barges, and for euery prophane person and companie. No, in those better times men were neither so il, nor so curious of them selues, so to abuse the blessed booke of Christ: neither was there any such easy meanes before printing was inuented, to disperse the copies into the handes of euery man, as now there is.

"They were then in Libraries, Monasteries, Colleges, Churches, in Bishops, Priests, and some deuout principal Lay mens houses and handes: who vsed them with feare and reuerence, and specially such partes as perteined to good life and maners, not medling, but in pulpit and schooles (and that moderately to) with the hard and high mysteries and places of greater difficultie. The poore ploughman could then, in labouring the ground, sing the hymnes and psalmes either in knowen or vnknowen languages, as they heard them in the holy Church, though they could neither reade nor knowe the sense, meaning, and mysteries of the same. Such holy persons of both sexes, to whom St. Hierom in diuers Epistles to them, commendeth the reading and meditation of holy Scriptures, were diligent to search al the godly histories and imitable examples of chastitie, humilitie, obedience, clemencie, pouertie, penance, renouncing the world: they noted specially the places that did breede the hatred of sinne, feare of Gods iudgement, delight in spiritual cogitations: they referred them selues in al hard places, to the iudgement of the auncient fathers and their maisters in religion, neuer presuming to contend, controule,

teach or talke of their owne sense and phantasie, in deepe questions of diuinitie. Then the Virgins did meditate vpon the places and examples of chastitie, modestie and demurenesse: the maried, on coniugal faith and continencie: the parents, how to bring vp their children in faith and feare of God: the Prince, how to rule: the subiect, how to obey: the Priest, how to teach: the people, how to learne.

"3. Then the scholer taught not his maister, the sheepe controuled not the Pastor, the young student set not the Doctor to schoole, nor reproued their fathers of error and ignorance. Or if any were in those better daies (as in al times of heresie such must needes be) that had itching eares, tikling tongues and wittes, curious and contentious disputers, hearers, and talkers rather than doers of Gods word: such the Fathers did euer sharply reprehend, counting them vnworthy and vnprofitable readers of the holy Scripture. . . .

"We therfore hauing compassion to see our beloued countriemen, with extreme danger of their soules, vse only such profane translations, and erroneous mens mere phantasies, for the pure and blessed word of truth, much also moued thereunto by the desires of many deuout persons: haue set forth, for you (benigne readers) the new Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may giue occasion to you, after diligent perusing thereof, to lay away at lest such their impure versions as hitherto you haue ben forced to occupie. How wel we haue done it, we must not be iudges, but referre al to Gods Church and our superiors in the same, to them we submit our selues, and this, and al other our labours, to be in part or in the whole, reformed, corrected, altered, or quite abolished: most humbly desiring pardon if through our ignorance, temeritie, or other humane infirmitie, we haue any where mistaken the sense of the holy Ghost, further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne errors, or if any other, either frende of good wil, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension, shal open vnto vs the same: we wil not (as Protestants doe) for defense of our estimation, or of pride and contention, by wrangling wordes wilfully persist in them, but be most glad to heare of them, and in the next edition or otherwise to correct them:

for it is truth that we seeke for, and Gods honour: which being had either by good intention, or by occasion, al is wel. This we professe only, that we haue done our endeuour with praier, much feare and trembling, lest we should dangerously erre in so sacred, high, and diuine a work: that we haue done it with al faith, diligence, and sincerítie: that we haue vsed no partialitie for the disaduantage of our aduersaries, nor no more licence then is sufferable in translating of holy Scriptures: continually keeping our selues as neere as is possible, to our text and to the very words and phrases which by long vse are made venerable, though to some prophane or delicate eares they may seeme more hard or barbarous, as the whole style of Scripture doth lightly to such at the beginning: acknowledging with St. Hierom, that in other writings it is ynough to giue in translation, sense for sense, but that in Scriptures, lest we misse the sense, we must keepe the very wordes. . . .

"Now, though the text thus truly translated, might sufficiently, in the sight of the learned and al indifferent men, both controule the aduersaries corruptions, and proue that the holy Scripture whereof they haue made so great vauntes, maketh nothing for their new opinions, but wholly for the Catholike Churches beleefe and doctrine, in al the pointes of difference betwixt vs: yet knowing that the good and simple may easily be seduced by some few obstinate persons of perdition (whom we see giuen ouer into a reprobat sense, to whom the Gospel, which in it self is the odour of life to saluation, is made the odour of death to damnation, ouer whose eyes for sinne and disobedience God suffereth a veile or couer to lie, whiles they read the New Testament, euen as the Apostle saith the Iewes haue til this day, in reading of the old, that as the one sort can not finde Christ in the Scriptures, reade they neuer so much, so the other can not finde the Catholike Church nor her doctrine there neither), and finding by experience this saying of St. Augustin to be most true, 'If the preiudice of any erroneous presuasion preoccupate the mind, whatsoeuer the Scripture hath to the contrarie, men take it for a figuratiue speach': for these causes, and somewhat to help the faithful reader in the difficulties of diuers places, we haue also set forth

reasonable large Annotations, thereby to shew the studious reader in most places perteining to the controuersies of this time, both the heretical corruptions and false deductions, and also the Apostolike tradition, the expositions of the holy fathers, the decrees of the Catholike Church and most ancient Councels: which means whosoeuer trusteth not, for the sense of the holy Scriptures, but had rather folow his priuate iudgement or the arrogant spirit of these Sectaries, he shal worthily through his owne wilfulnes be deceiued: beseeching al men to looke with diligence, sinceritie, and indifference, into the case that concerneth no lesse then euery ones eternal salvation or damnation. . . .

"In this ovr translation, because we wish it to be most sincere, as becommeth a Catholike translation, and haue endeuoured so to make it: we are very precise and religious in folowing our copie, the old vulgar approued Latin: not only in sense, which we hope we alwaies doe, but sometimes in the very words also and phrases, which may seeme to the vulgar reader and to common English eares not yet acquainted therewith, rudenesse or ignorance: but to the discrete Reader that deeply weigheth and considereth the importance of sacred words and speeches, and how easily the voluntarie Translatour may misse the true sense of the Holy Ghost, we doubt not but our consideration and doing therein, shal seeme reasonable and necessarie: yea and that al sortes of Catholike Readers wil in short time thinke that familiar, which at the first may seeme strange, and wil esteeme it more, when they shal otherwise be taught to vnderstand it, then if it were the common known English.

"For example, we translate often thus, 'Amen, amen, I say unto you.' Which as yet seemeth strange, but after a while it wil be as familiar, as 'Amen,' in the end of al praiers and Psalmes, and even as when we end with 'Amen,' it soundeth far better then, 'So beit': so in the beginning, 'Amen, Amen,' must needes by vse and custom sound far better, then, 'Verily verily.' Which in deede doth not expresse the asseueration and assurance signified in this Hebrue word, besides that it is the solemne and usual word of our Sauiour to expresse a vehement

asseueration, and therefore is not changed, neither in the Syriake nor Greeke, nor vulgar Latin Testament, but is preserued and vsed of the Euangelistes and Apostles, them selues, euen as Christ spake it 'propter sanctiorem authoritatem' as St. Augustin saith of this and of 'Allelu-ia, for the more holy and sacred authoritie thereof.' li. 2 Doct. Christ, c. 11. And therefore do we keepe the word 'Allelu-ia,' Apoc. 19, as it is both in Greeke and Latin yea and in al the English translations, though in their bookes of common praier they translate it, 'Praise ye the Lord.' Againe if 'Hosanna, Raca, Belial,' and such like be yet vntranslated in the English Bibles, why may not we say, 'Corbana,' and 'Parasceue': specially when they Englishing this later thus, 'the preparation of the Sabboth,' put three words more into the text then the Greeke word doth signifie. Mat. 27, 62. And others saying thus, 'After the day of preparing,' make a cold translation and short of the sense: as if they should translate Sabboth, 'the resting,' for 'Parasceue' is as solemne a word for the Sabboth eue, as 'Sabboth' is for the Iewes seventh day, and now among Christians much more solemner, taken for Good-friday only. These words then we thought it far better to keepe in the text, and to tel their signification in the margent or in a table for that purpose, then to disgrace both the text and them with translating them.

"Moreouer, we presume not in hard places to mollifie the speaches or phrases, but religiously keepe them word for word, and point for point, for fear of missing, or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost to our phantasie, as Eph. 6, 'Against the spirituals of wickedness in the celestials,' and, 'What to me and thee woman?' and 1 Pet. 2, 'As infants euen now borne, reasonable, milke without guile desireye.' We do so place, 'reasonable,' of purpose, that it may be indifferent both to infants going before, as in our Latin text: or to milke that followeth after, as in other Latin copies and in the Greeke. Io. 3 we translate, 'The spirit breatheth where he wil &c.' leauing it indifferent to signifie either the holy Ghost, or winde: which the Protestants translating, 'minde,' take away the other sense more common and vsual in the ancient fathers. We translate Luc. 8,

23, 'They were filed,' not adding of our owne, 'with water,' to mollifie the sentence, as the Protestants doe, and c. 22, 'This is the chalice, the new Testament' &c, not 'This chalice is the new Testament,' likewise, Mar. 13, 'Those daies shal be such tribulation' &c, not as the Aduersaries, 'in those daies,' both our text and theirs being otherwise, likewise Iac. 4, 6, 'And giueth greater grace,' leauing it indifferent to the 'Scripture,' or to the 'holy Ghost,' both going before. . . .

"We adde the Greeke in the margent for diuers causes. Sometime when the sense is hard, that the learned reader may consider of it and see if he can helpe him selfe better then by our translation. "Item we adde the Latin word sometime in the margent, when either we can not fully expresse it (as Act. 8. 'They tooke order for Stevens funeral,' and, 'Al take not his word.)' or when the reader might thinke, it can not be as we translate, as, Luc. 8. 'A storme of winde descended in to the lake, and they were filled,' and, Io. 5. 'when Iesus knew that he had now a long time,' meaning, in his infirmitie.

"This precise folowing of our Latin text, in neither adding nor diminishing, is the cause why we say not in the title of the Gospels in the first page, S. Matthew, S. Mar., S. John: because it is so neither in Greeke nor Latin, though in the toppes of the leaues folowing, where we may be bolder, we adde, S. Matthew &c. to satisfie the reader: Much vnlike to the Protestants our Aduersaries, which make no scruple to leaue out the name of Paul in the title of the Epistle to the Hebrues, though it be in euery Greeke booke which they translate. And their most authorised English Bibles leaue out (Catholike) in the title of S. James Epistle and the rest, which were famously knowen in the primitiue Church by the name of 'Catholicæ Epistolæ,' Euseb. hist. Eccl. li. 2, c. 22.

"Item we giue the Reader in the places of some importance, another reading in the margent, specially when the Greeke is agreeable to the same.

"We binde not our selues to the pointes of any one copie, print, or edition of the vulgar Latin, in places of no controuersie, but folow the pointing most agreeable to the Greeke and to the fathers commentaries.

"We translate sometime the word that is in the Latin margent, and not that in the text, when by the Greeke or the fathers we see it is a manifest fault of the writers heretofore, that mistooke one word for an other.

"Thus we haue endeuoured by al meanes to satisfie the indifferent reader, and to helpe his vnderstanding euery way, both in the text, and by Annotations: and withal to deale most sincerely before God and man, in translating and expounding the most sacred text of the holy Testament. Fare wel good Reader, and if we profit the any whit by our poore paines, let us for Gods sake be partakers of thy deuout praiers, and together with humble and contrite hart cal upon our Sauiour Christ to cease these troubles and stormes of his derest spouse."

In this preface, so ingenuous and yet so reserved about their motives, so nimble in its fence and so fierce in its assault, the Rhemists laid themselves open to the castigation of their watchful opponents who were glad of the occasion, and at once seized upon it with unmeasured severity. Fulke opened upon them in the following terms[1]:—

"Whoso seeth what unnecessary charge you have put your selves unto in printing this your Translation in so large a volume, may easily perceive you set it not forth for poor men's profit; and that, by so excessive price of so small a part of the whole Bible, you mean to discourage your friends from waiting for all the rest.

"As for the special consideration that procured this edition, when you do express it, we may better judge of it. In the mean time, we can conceive none other, but that which is the practice of many heretikes:—when you could not altogether suppress the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, whereby your errors are discovered; you thought it the next way for your purpose, by your partial translation as much as you could to obscure them, and by your heretical Annotations to pervert them, that the one should make them unprofitable, the other also hurtful.

"And whereas you say, 'That of old they have not ever

[1] Confutation, &c., Preface. London, 1589.

condemned all vulgar versions of the Scripture, nor generally forbidden the faithful to read them;' Let the registers of Bishops be searched, where it will appear that many have been accused and condemned as Heretics, for having, reading, or hearing the holy Scriptures in the English tongue, without any exception taken against the truth of the translation."

A portion of Cartwright's Answer to the Preface of the Rhemish New Testament was published at Edinburgh in 1602, and in it the Puritan leader thus delivers himself[1]:—

"It is evident, that you permit it, not either in reverence to the Holy Scriptures, or love to the people: but rather as desperat enemies which had rather kill with it, than that the head of your gaineful errors should be stricken off by it. And it fareth altogether with you in this poynt as with men which having a naturall hatred of cheese, or of some such foode, in suche sorte as the very sight or touch of it doth offend them: yet being effamished, are content for the safetie of their lives even to eate it. For, abhorring from the Scriptures in time of your peace; when it cometh that you and your state is plunged by such as you call 'hæretickes,' you are glad to bite or nibble upon the Scriptures, if happelie you can get anything to serve the present neede.

"After that, by hiding and burning the Scriptures, by threatening and murdering of men for reading of them, they cannot attaine to the causing of such a night of ignorance, wherein they might doe all thinges without controulement: there remayned one onely engine which Satan (with all his Angels) having framed and hammered upon his lying forge, hath furnished them of. This engine is, the defacing and dis-authorizing of the Scriptures, as it were the taking from them their girdle or garter of honour, by a false surmise of corruption of them, in the languages wherein they were first written. Which abominable practice being attempted in th' Old testament by Lindanus[2] is now assayed in the new by the Jesuites."

[1] Pp. 6 and 92.

[2] Lindanus, Bishop of Ruremond, in Holland, published a work "De optimo Scripturas interpretandi genere," Coloniæ, 1558, 16mo, in which he affirms the superiority of the Latin Vulgate version over the Hebrew and Greek Originals.

The Rhemists profess perfect integrity concerning their own work, wishing it to be "most sincere as becometh a Catholic translation." In the note at Acts xiii, 1, they say, that they might have rendered the clause, "as they were ministering," by "as they were sacrificing," or "saying masse," "but we keepe our texte as the translators of Scripture should doe most religiously." The rendering, 2 Peter i, 10, "labour the more that by good works you may secure your vocation," is faithful to the Vulgate, and the addition has a little support in some MSS. and versions.

As they deliberately chose the Vulgate[1] to translate from, they give us the reasons of their preference: Its antiquity, its editorial revision by Jerome, its commendation by Augustine, its use by the Fathers, its proclaimed authenticity by the Council of Trent, its gravity, its impartiality, the preference given to it occasionally by Beza and the Calvinists, its superiority to all other Latin translations, and in cases of discrepancy to the vulgar Greek text itself, "according to the testimony of the old scholars and divines." But critical rules and opinions are characterized by a peculiar lubricity. Their statement is that the Latin does usually agree with the Greek text, that any disagreement is often found to be coincident with some old copy, "as may be seen in Stephens' margin," and that the adversaries sometimes accept such marginal readings; that when Greek copies exhibit a different text, the Vulgate is found to agree with patristic quotations; that emendations may be resorted to if such authority be wanting, or recourse may be had to the Latin Fathers, and if, in this appeal, discrepancy should be found, the blame is to be laid to the "great diversitie and multitude" of Latin copies. So that in this easy and incoherent way of moving from post to pillar, as often as their position is felt to be untenable, the superiority of the Latin translation to the Greek original is demonstrated.

This version, however, was made by men of no small erudition, but very thorough devotees of Rome. The integrity which they

[1] A certain cardinal confessed that he had gone over the Vulgate once, but vowed never to read it again, lest his Latinity should be spoiled.

claim for themselves they deny to others. Their opponents are ever accused of translating for the purpose of falsifying the sacred text, and wilfully misinterpreting it. They do not find mere blunders in their antagonists—what they impute to Protestant scholars and critics is conscious wickedness, the making of additions, alterations, and omissions, in avowed and profane rebellion against the Divine truth. The Notes are purely polemical, as if the version had been made to furnish occasion for them. No element of charity breathes in them, no compassion for poor non-Catholics; heretics and Protestants are assailed on every page, and their sins are educed from the text, often by the most ingenious inferences, or are connected with it by an invisible film of gossamer. Fury and indignation are poured upon them, and they are overwhelmed with scathing invective, and terrible menace — exposure to the worst of penalties on earth, and unutterable retributions in the world to come. In the words of Geddes, their co-religionist, "the translation is accompanied with virulent annotations against the Protestant religion, and manifestly calculated to support a system, not of genuine catholicity, but of Transalpine Popery."

The Rhemist scholars, though they paid divine honours to the Latin text, rendered always with the Greek text before them, as their title-page asserts, as their margin proves, and as their frequent insertion of the definite article also indicates; for it is found in many places where previous translators have neglected it, as may be seen in 1 Thess. i, 3, "the charity, the enduring of the hope"; Matt. iv, 5, "the pinnacle"; xxviii, 16, "the mount"; Eph. ii, 3, "as also the rest"; Rev. vii, 13, "clothed in the white robes";—conversely, Luke ii, 9, "an angel of our Lord"; Matt. ii, 13, "an angel"; John iv, 27, "talked with a woman"; and in these three places the Authorized Version wrongly inserts the definite article; Luke xvi, 13, "cleave to one and contemn the other," a distinction to which the mere Latin could not have helped them. They did not, as has been often done, translate as a rule the genitive like an adjective of quality, as in the phrase "glorious liberty," Rom. viii, 21; "the glorious gospel," 2 Cor. iv, 4; "deceitful lusts," Eph. iv, 22; "true holiness," 24;

"our vile body," "his glorious body," Philip. iii, 21; "his mighty angels," 2 Thess. i, 7; "his dear son," Coloss. i, 13; but they keep literally "liberty of the glory," "gospel of the glory," "desires of error," "holiness of the truth," "body of our humility," "body of his glory," "angels of his power," "Son of his love." In some of these instances, not in all, the Authorized Version gives the literal rendering on the margin of the first edition. While the Rheims Version is sometimes ludicrous in consequence of the close adherence to the Vulgate, there are very many clauses in which there are happy and nicely adjusted renderings. True to their ecclesiastical beliefs, they render "presbyter" by "priest," "repent" by "do penance," "repented in sackcloth and ashes" by "done penance in haircloth and ashes," and "cup" by "chalice." By the use of "halleluiah," "hosanna," "amen," and "Belial," they justify "pasche," "parasceue," "Azymes"; their further argument being, if "proselyte" be taken why not "neophyte," if "phylacteries" why not "prepuce and Paraclete," if "anathema" why not "depositum"? How is it possible, it is asked, to express "evangelizo" but by "evangelize"? But their slavish adherence to the idiom and order of the Latin text leads often to obscurity, nay, not a few clauses are incomprehensible—if they are ambiguous and unintelligible in the Vulgate, they characteristically remain so in the translation, for face answereth to face. Many Latin terms are transferred, not rendered. Their translation, as Fuller says, "needs to be translated," for their English style is continually disfigured by foreign words.[1] Thus—

Matt. i, 17, "transmigration of Babylon"; vi, 11, "supersubstantial bread"; xvi, 26, "what permutation"; xxvii, 62, "day which is after the parasceue."

Mark iii, 6, "made a consultation"; 14, "he made that twelve should be with him"; v, 35, "they come to the arch-

[1] On the back of the title-page of the first edition of the New Testament is printed the ecclesiastical license, which is called "The Censure and Approbation." Leighton, in the account of his sufferings which he endured in virtue of a sentence pronounced upon him by the High Commissioners' Court, says, "the censure was to cut my ears, slit my nose," &c.

synagogue"; xiv, 27, "scandalized"; xv, 46, "wrapped him in the sindon."

Luke i, 6, "walking in all the commaundements and justifications of our Lord"; 67, "replenished with the Holy Ghost"; iii, 14, "be content with your stipends"; iv, 40, "incontinent rising"; ix, 22, "be rejected of the ancients"; 46, "there entered a cogitation into them"; xiv, 32, "sending a legacie"; xii, 11, "magistrates and potestates"; xx, 26, "they could not reprehend his word"; xxii, 7, "the day of the Azymes came, . . . that the pasche should be killed"; 12, "a great refectorie adorned"; 18, "I will not drink of the generation of the vine"; 42, "transfer this chalice from me"; xxiii, 14, "as averting the people"; 24, "adjudged their petition to be done."

John ii, 11, "What to me and thee woman?" 19, "dissolve this temple"; iii, 20, "that his works may not be controuled" (checked or censured); vii, 5, "Scenopégia was at hand"; xix, 42, "a new monument."

Acts i, 2, "he was assumpted"; xxi, 21, "zelatours"; xxii, 3, "an emulatour of the law"; xxiii, 14, "by execration we have vowed."

Rom. i, 11, "some spiritual grace"; 30, "odible to God"; ii, 20, "of science and of veritie"; 25, "if thou be a prevaricator of the law, thy circumcision is become prepuce"; iii, 25, "hath prepared a propitiation"; viii, 18, "I think that the passions of this time are not condigne to the glory to come"; 39, "from the charitie of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord";[1] xvi, 5, "their domestical church."

1 Cor. i, 8, "who will confirme you unto the end without crime"; v, 4, "with the vesture of our Lord Jesus"; v, 7, "purge the old leaven, that ye may be a new paste as you are Azymes"; vii, 6, "I say this by indulgence;" 18, "let him not procure prepuce"; vii, 19, "prepuce is nothing, but the observation of the commaundements of God"; x, 11, "written to our correption"; 13, "that you may be able to sustein"; 18, "they that eat the hosts"; xi, 4, "dishonesteth his head"; xiv, 23, "vulgar persons or infidels."

[1] It may be noted that the pronoun is always prefixed to the term Lord, "our Lord," just "as we say our lady." See note 1 Tim. vi.

2 Cor. iii, 18, "with face revealed"; iv, 10, "bearing about in our body the mortification of Jesus"; vi, 6, "long-animitie"; vii, 1, "from all inquination of the flesh and spirit"; viii, 19, "ordained . . . . fellow of our peregrination"; x, 4, "unto the destruction of munitions"; xi, 8, "taking a stipend"; xiii, 3, "seek you an experiment of him that speaketh in me, Christ."

Gal. i, 13, "expugned it"; v, 4, "evacuated from Christ"; 3, "every man circumciding himself"; 21, "ebrieties, commessations";[1] vi, 1, "if a man be preoccupated in any fault."

Eph. i, 9, "sacrament of his will"; ii, 2, "children of diffidence"; 19, "the domesticals of God"; iii, 6, "concorporate and comparticipant"; 11, "princes and potestates in the celestials"; 11, "according to the prefinition of worlds"; iv, 16, "by all juncture of subministration"; 30, "contristate not the holy spirit of God"; v, 32, "this is a great sacrament"; vi, 12, "against the rectours of the world, of this darkness against the spirituals of wickednes in the celestials."

Philip. ii, 9, "every knee bow of the celestials, terrestrials, and infernals"; iii, 10, "the societie of his passions."

Col. i, 18, "in all things holding the primacy"; 27, "the glory of this sacrament in the Gentiles."

1 Tim. i, 7, "doctors of the law"; vi, 20, "keep the *depositum*."

2 Tim. i, 14, "keep the good *depositum*"; ii, 4, "entangleth himself with secular businesses"; iv, 6, "the time of my resolution[2] is at hand."

Titus i, 16, "incredulous"; iii, 3, "serving divers desires and voluptuousnesses . . . odible."

Philemon 6, "in the agnition of all good."

Heb. ii, 17, "repropitiate the sins"; iii, 13, "obdurate with the fallacie of sinne"; v, 9, "being consummate"; 11, "great

[1] Strype relates that Cranmer sent visitors to All Souls, Oxford, because of scandalous reports of "their compotations, ingurgitations, ... enormous and excessive commessations." Memorials of Cranmer, vol. II, p. 207, Oxford, 1848.

[2] John Knox uses the same term, "daylie luiking for the resolution of this my tabernakle." Works, VI, p. 418, ed. David Laing, Edin., 1864.

speech and inexplicable"; ix, 1, "justifications of service"; 2, "proposition of loaves"; 3, "Sancta Sanctorum"; 28, "to exhaust the sins of many"; xii, 2, "sustained the cross, contemning confusion"; xiii, 7, "your prelates"; 16, "with such hostes God is premerited."

James i, 17, "with whom is no transmutation"; 27, "pupilles and widowes"; ii, 7, "the good name that is invocated upon you."

1 Peter i, 2, "according to the prescience of God"; 5, "by the vertue of God are kept"; iii, 20, "incredulous sometime"; iv, 12, "think it not strange in the fervour which is to you for a tentation"; 13, "but communicating with the passions of Christ"; v, 5, "insinuate humilitie one to another."

2 Peter i, 3, "his own proper glory and virtue"; 7, "love of the fraternitie"; ii, 13, "coinquinations and spots"; iii, 13, "in which justice inhabiteth."

1 John iii, 1, "behold what manner of charitie the Father hath given us"; iv, 3, "every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God"; 16, "God is charitie."[1]

3 John 9, "he that loveth to bear the primacy among them."

Jude i, 4, "were long ago prescribed unto this judgment, . . . denying the only Dominator."

Rev. i, 10, "Dominical day"; ii, 14, "to cast a scandal before"; iii, 17, "a miser and miserable"; xiv, 11, "if any man take the character of his name"; xxii, 14, "that wash their stoles"; 17, "let him take the water of life gratis."

Some phrases are not so cramped and narrow as those given, or as that which occurs in Romans xiv, 19, "Therfore the things that are of peace let vs pursue: and the things that are of edifying one toward an other let vs keepe." And there are some freer renderings—Matt. viii, 29,[2] "What is between us?"

[1] "I did ever allow the discretion and tenderness of the Rhemish translation on this point, that finding in the original the word ἀγάπη, and never ἔρως, do ever translate 'charity' and never 'love,' because of the indifferency and equivocation of the word with impure love." Lord Bacon, Pacification of the Church, Works, vol. VII, p. 81, ed. B. Montague, London, 1827.

[2] "Quid nobis et tibi?"

ix, 2,[1] "have a good heart"; xxi, 41,[2] "he will bring to naught"; Mark ii, 1,[3] "after some days"; 15,[4] "he sat at meat"; Luke xviii, 14,[5] "more than he"; John xii, 2,[6] "them that sat at the table"; 6,[7] "not because he cared for the poor"; Acts ix, 11,[8] "Loe, here I am, Lord"; x, 10,[9] "to take somewhat"; xvii, 4,[10] "that served God"; 5,[11] "of the rascal sort."

They explain some of the words used in a stricter Latin or Low Latin sense: as "calumniate," to use violent oppression,[12] Luke iii, 14; "contristate," to make heavy and sad, Eph. iv, 30; i, 6, "grace wherein he hath gratified us, made gracious"; "prevarication" is transgression, as in Rom. ii, 23; "prefinition" means a determination before, as in Eph. iii, 11.

There are also not a few familiar Saxon phrases in the version—the English instincts of the translators were not wholly quenched or perverted:

Matt. ix, 24, "the multitude keeping a sturre"; x, 25, "goodman of the house"; xiv, 9, "the king was stricken sad"; xviii, 28, "throttled him"; xx, 1, "work man"; xxi, 44, "it shal al to bruise him"; xxv, 27, "bankers"; xxvii, 5, "hanged himself with an halter."

Mark v, 36, "saith to the Archsynagogue"; 39, "why make you this a doe? the wench is not dead"; 41, "where the wench was lying"; ix, 7, "this is my son most dear."

Luke i, 65, "these things were bruited over all the hill countrie"; ii, 3, "all want to be enrolled"; 44, "kinsfolk and acquaintance"; viii, 22, "let us strike over the lake"; 33, "the herd . . . was stifled"; 35, "well in his wits"; xi, 25, "swept with a besom and trimmed"; xiii, 34, "as the bird doth her brood"; xv, 8, "what woman having ten grotes

[1] "Confide."
[2] "Male perdet."
[3] "Post dies."
[4] "Accumberet."
[5] "Ab illo."
[6] "Discumbentibus."
[7] "Non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum."
[8] "Ecce ego, Domine."
[9] "Gustare."
[10] "Colentibus."
[11] "De Vulgo."
[12] On "calumniate" in this sense see the remarks of Cardinal Wiseman, Works, vol. I, p. 86.

if she leese one grote"; xvi, 2, "bailiffe"; 4, "bailieship"; 9, "when you fail"; xviii, 2, "feared not God and of man made no account"; xx, 18, "every one that falleth upon this stone shall be quashed, and upon whom it shall fall, it shall break him to powder."

John iv, 5, "beside the maner that Jacob gave to his sonne"; viii, 44, "a mankiller from the beginning."

Acts ii, 30, "sit upon his seat"; v, 7, "not knowing what was chaunced"; viii, 2, "took order for Steven's funeral"; xvii, 18, "this wordsower."

1 Cor. viii, 1, "knowledge puffeth up," after the Genevan of 1560; xiv, 35, "it is a foul thing for a woman to speak in the church"; xv, 54, "this mortal hath done on immortalitie."

2 Cor. v, 4, "overclothed"; xii, 20, "stomakings."

Col. iii, 10, "doing on the new [man]."

1 Thes. iv, 6, "that no man ouergoe . . . his brother."

2 Tim. iii, 13, "erring and driving into error."

Heb. xii, 12, "stretche up the slacked handes"; 16, "for one dish of meat sold his first-birth-rightes."

1 Peter ii, 12, "misreport of you"; iii, 3, "whose trimming."

2 Peter ii, 4, "with the ropes of Hell being drawn down into Hell"; iii, 8, "my dearest."

Rev. ii, 17, "a white counter."

But the Rhemist translators, though they make no mention of previous translations, kept before them both the Genevan and the Bishops', and have supplied not a few good renderings which were thankfully accepted by the revisers of King James. They have enriched the vocabulary of the Authorized Version. From them came "hymn" in Matt. xxvi, 30; and "blessed" in 26; "decease" in Luke ix, 31; "reprobate," Rom. i, 28; "impenitent," ii, 5; "commendeth," v, 8; and in the Epistle of James i, 5, "upbraideth not"; 5, "nothing doubting," "the engrafted word"; 21, "bridleth his tongue," the previous versions having "refraineth"; "unction," 1 John ii; and the word "mystery," "at his own charges," 1 Cor. ix, 7; "contemptible," 2 Cor. x, 10; 2 Tim. iii, 6, "silly"—the Bishops' having "simple" in brackets (mulierculas). They

have given us "confess" for "knowledge," "propitiation," "seduce," "have confidence," "stumbling," and "understanding"—all these in the first Epistle of John, and all directly from the Vulgate. Such Latin terms as "lucre," "superfluitie," "concupiscence," "tradition," "tribulation," "salute," &c., were in the older versions. They have also a special merit in preserving uniformity of rendering—the want of which is a peculiar and pervading blemish in the Authorized Version. Many examples will afterwards be adduced under the head of Revision. When Gregory Martin remarked on the absence of uniformity, Fulke says little more in reply than this: "For my part I was never of counsel with any that translated the Scriptures into English, and therefore it is possible that I cannot sufficiently express what moved the translators so to vary in the exposition of one and the same word."[1] So closely do the Rhemists adhere to their text that, as they say themselves, they do not in the titles to the Gospels call the evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, &c., though they do so "on the tops of the leaves following to satisfie the reader." Had these scholarly Englishmen not been warped by their ecclesiastical prejudices, they would have issued a translation of the Vulgate greatly more exact and felicitous than any of those which their predecessors had given of the Greek text.

The Rheims New Testament was once appealed to and rejected in very tragic circumstances. On the evening before her execution in Fotheringay Castle, the unfortunate Queen of Scots, laying her hand solemnly on a copy that happened to be on her work table, took a solemn oath of innocence, when the Earl of Kent at once interposed that the book on which she had sworn was false, and that her oath was therefore of no value. Her answer was prompt and decided—"Does your lordship suppose that my oath would be better, if I swore on your translation in which I do not believe?"[2]

[1] Defence, p. 89.

[2] La Mort de la Reyne d'Escosse, Douairière de France," reprinted in Jebb's Collection, vol. II, p. 616.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE Old Testament was at length published at Douai in 1609-10.

"The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English out of The Avthentical Latin. Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other Editions in diuers languages. With Argvments of the Bookes, and Chapters: Annotations: Tables: and other helpes, for better vnderstanding of the text; for discoverie of Corruptions in some latter translations: and for clearing controuersies in Religion. By the English College of Doway. Spiritu Sancto inspirati, locuti sunt sancti Dei homines. 2 Pet. i. The holie men of God spake, inspired with the Holy Ghost. Printed at Doway by Lawrence Kellam, at the signe of the holie Lambe. M.D.C.X." Two volumes. This Bible has neither maps nor plates. A brief address on the last page says: "We have already found some faults escaped, but fearing there be more, and the whole volume being ere long to be examined again, we pray the courteous reader to pardon all and amend them as they occur." After the second book of Maccabees it is stated: "The prayer of Manasses, with the second and third books of Esdras, extant in most Latin and Vulgare Bibles, are here placed after al the Canonical books of the old Testament: because they are not received into the canon of Diuine Scriptures by the Catholique Church." The translation had been prepared many years previously, even before the appearance of the New Testament, but it was not published "for lack of good meanes," and, as is confessed, "our poor estate in banishment." It had also been finished before corrected editions of

the Vulgate were published under Pope Sixtus V (1590) and Pope Clement VIII (1592), and therefore it was again conferred before publication "and conformed to the most perfect Latin edition." The translators refer incidentally to our Authorized Bible "as a new edition which we have not yet seen." In the address "to the right well-beloved English reader" topics akin to those discussed in the preface to the New Testament are briefly referred to. The Annotations and Tables were prepared by Dr. Thomas Worthington, elected president of the college in 1599, but he resigned office to Kellison in 1613, and died an Oratorian in 1626. The notes are not so numerous as those in the New Testament, with the exception of Genesis and Psalms. A few sentences of the address prefixed to the Old Testament are subjoined, since, as in the case of the preface to the Rheims New Testament, it has fallen out of view.

"To the right wel beloved English reader grace and glory in Iesvs Christ Everlasting. At last through Gods goodness (most dearely beloued) we send you here the greater part of the Old Testament, as long since you receiued the New, faithfully translated into English. The residue is in hand to be finished: and your desire thereof shal not now (God prospering our intention) be long frustrate. As for the impediments, which hitherto haue hindered this worke they al proceeded (as many doe know) of one general cause, our poore estate in banishment. Wherein expecting better meanes, greater difficulties rather ensued. Neuertheles you wil hereby the more perceiue our feruent good wil, euer to serue you, in that we haue brought forth this Tome, in the hardest times, of aboue fourty yeares, since this College was most happily begun. Wherefore we nothing doubt, but you our dearest, for whom we haue dedicated our liues, wil both pardon the long delay, which we could not preuent, and accept now this fruit of our labours, with like good affection, as we acknowledge them due, and offer the same vnto you. . . .

"But here another question may be proposed: Why we translate the Latin text, rather then the Hebrew, or Greeke, which Protestants preferre as the fountaine tongs,

wherin holie Scriptures were first written? To this we answer that if indeed those first pure Editions were now extant, or if such as be extant were more pure then the Latin, we would also preferre such fountaines before the riuers, in whatsoeuer they should be found to disagree. But the ancient best learned Fathers and Doctours of the Church, doe much complaine, and testifie to vs, that both the Hebrew and Greeke Editions are fouly corrupted by Iewes, and Heretikes, since the Latin was truly translated out of them, whiles they were more pure; and that the same Latin hath been farre better conserued from corruptions. So that the old Vulgate Latin Edition hath been preferred and vsed for most authentical aboue a thousand and three hundred yeares. . . . Neither doe we fly vnto this old Latin text for more aduantage: For besides that it is free from partiality, as being most ancient of al Latin copies, and long before the particular Controuersies of these dayes began, the Hebrew also and the Greek when they are truly translated, yea and Erasmus his Latin, in sundry places proue more plainly the Catholike Roman doctrine, then this which we rely vpon. So that Beza and his followers take also exception against the Greeke, when Catholikes alledge it against them. Yea the same Beza preferreth the old Latin Version before al others and freely testifieth, that the old Interpreter translated religiously. What then doe our countrimen, that refuse this Latin, but depriue themselues of the best, and yet al this while, haue set forth none, that is allowed by al Protestants for good or sufficient?

"How wel this is done the learned may iudge, when by mature conference they shal haue made trial thereof. And if any thing be mistaken, we will (as stil we promise) gladly correct it. Those that translated it about thirty yeares since, were wel knowen to the world, to haue been excellent in the tongs, sincere men, and great Diuines. Only one thing we haue done tovching the text, whereof we are especially to giue notice: That whereas heretofore in the best Latin Editions there remained many places differing in words, some also in sense, as in long process of time the writers erred in their copies, now lately by

the care and diligence of the Church, those diuers readings were maturely and iudiciously examined and .conferred with sundry the best written and printed books, and so resolued vpon, that al which before were left in the margent, are either restored into the text, or els omitted ; so that now none such remain in the margent. For which cause we have againe conferred this English translation, and conformed it to the most perfect Latin Edition. Where yet by the way we must giue the vulgar reader to vnderstand, that very few or none of the former varieties touched Controuersies of this time. So that this recognition is no way suspicious of partiality, but is meerly done for the more secure conseruation of the true text, and more ease and satisfaction of such, as otherwise should haue remained more doubtful.

"Now for the strictness obserued in translating some words, or rather the not translating of some, which is in more danger to be disliked, we doubt not but the discrete learned reader, deeply weighing and considering the importance of sacred words, and how easily the translatour may misse the sense of the Holy Ghost, wil hold that which is here done for reasonable and necessary. We have also the example of the Latin and Greek, where some words are not translated, but left in Hebrew, as they were first spoken and written ; which seeing they could not, or were not conuenient to be translated into Latin or Greeke, how much lesse could they or was it reason to turne them into English ? S. Augustin also yieldeth to a reason, exemplifying in the words 'amen' and 'alleluia, for the more sacred authoritie thereof,' which doubtless is the cause why some 'names of solemne feasts, sacrifices,' and other holie things are 'reserued in sacred tongs,' Hebrew, Greeke, or Latin. Againe for necessitie, English not hauing a name or sufficient terme, we either keep the word as we find it, or only turne it to our English termination, because it would otherwise require manie words in English to signifie one word of another tongue. In which cases, we commonly put the explication in the margent. Briefly our Apologie is easie against English Protestants; because they also reserue some words in the original tongues, not translated into English,

as 'Sabbath, Ephod, Pentecost, Proselyte,' and some others. . . . It more importeth, that nothing be wittingly and falsly translated for aduantage of doctrine in matter of faith. Wherein as we dare boldly auouch the sinceritie of this Translation, and that nothing is here either vntruly or obscurely done of purpose, in fauour of Catholike Roman Religion, so we can not but complaine, and challenge English Protestants for corrupting the text, contrarie to the Hebrew and Greeke, which they profess to translate for the more shew and maintening of their peculiar opinions against Catholikes: As is proued in the 'Discouerie of manifold corruptions.' . . .

"With this then we wil conclude most deare (we speake to you al, that vnderstand our tongue, whether you be of contrarie opinions in faith, or of mundane feare participate with an other Congregation, or professe with vs the same Catholike Religion) to you al we present this worke: daily beseeching God Almightie, the Diuine Wisedom, Eternal Goodnes, to create, illuminate, and replenish your spirits, with his Grace, that you may attaine eternal Glorie, euery one in his measure, in those many Mansions, prepared and promised by our Sauiour in his Fathers house. Not only to those which first received and followed his Diuine doctrine, but to all that should afterwards belieue in him, and keep the same precepts.

"From the English College in Doway, the Octaues of Al Saints. 1609. 'The God of patience and comfort give you to be of one mind, one towards an other in Iesvs Christ; that of one mind, with one mouth you may glorifie God.'"

Latinized English in imitation of the Vulgate, pervades this Old Testament as fully as it does the New Testament, and there are renderings so obscure as to be nearly unintelligible. A few examples may be given from the earlier Psalms. The Psalter, however, had been sadly trifled with. Originally the Latin psalter was a translation not from Hebrew but from Greek, and that translation from Greek being cursorily revised by Jerome, at the request of Pope Damasus, became the Roman psalter, and a second and more thorough revision, undertaken at the request of Paula and Eustochium, and made by the help of Origen's Hexaplar text, became the Gallican psalter.

These revisions are very different in merit from Jerome's own direct translation of the original Hebrew, which, however, was not allowed to find a place in the Vulgate, much in the same way as the Psalms of the Great Bible keep their position still in the Book of Common Prayer. Many of the extraordinary renderings are in this way accounted for.[1] The following are specimens; and to facilitate comparison on the part of those who have not a Douai Bible at hand, the notation of chapters and verse is given not according to it, but according to our common version. After the ninth Psalm, the notation of Psalms differs by one in the Douai version, but coalesces again at Psalm cxlvii, and the title of the psalm is usually reckoned the first verse of it.

Psalms ii, 12, "apprehend discipline"; iv, 6, "the light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us"; viii, 5, "thou hast minished him a little less than angels"; xvi, 3, "he hath made all my willes mervelous in them"; 11, "delectations on thy right hand"; xvii, 5, "perfite my passes in thy pathes"; 14, "their belly is filled of thy secrets"; xviii, 45, "the children of aliens are inueterated"; xxiii, 5, "thou hast fatted my head with oil, and my chalice inebriating how goodlie is it"; 6, "in longitude of days"; xxxv, 1, "overthrow them that impugne me"; 16, "they were dissipated and not compunct"; xxxviii, 8, "my loins are filled with illusions"; xxxix, 12, "I have fainted in reprehensions"; xlvii, 9, "strong gods of the earth are exceedingly advanced"; xl, 12, "there was no multitude in the exchanges of them"; lxiv, 7, "children's arrows are made their wounds"; lxv, 11, "inebriate her rivers; in her dropps she shall rejoice springing"; 14, "which did take sweet meats together with me"; lvi, 14, "from the height of the day I shall fear"; lxviii, 10, "voluntarie rayne shalt thou seperate"; 16, "a mountane crudded as cheese, a fatte mountane"; 27, "Benjamin, a young man in excess of mind"; lxxii, 16, "there shall be a firmament in the earth, in the tops of the mountains"; lxxvi, 10, "the cogitation of man shall confess to thee, and the remains of the cogitation shall keep festival day to thee"; lxxxvi, 6, "our Lord will declare in Scriptures of peoples."

[1] Kaulen, Geschichte der Vulgata, Mainz, 1868.

Isaiah xiii, 22, "and the Syrach owls shall answer, and mermaids in the temples of pleasure."

There are swarms of other instances :—

Numbers xx, 24, "he was incredulous to my mouth"; 26, "and when thou hast unvested the father of his vesture, thou shalt revest therewith Eleazar his son."

Deut. xvi, 2, "thou shalt immolate the Phasc to our Lord thy God"; xvii, 18, "he shall copie to himselfe the Deuteronomie of this law"; xxvii, 7, "thou shalt immolate pacifique hostes"; xxxiii, 14, "of the pomes of the fruits of the sunne and moone."

Idiomatic and pithy renderings are, however, to be found—

Gen. ii, 22, "built the rib into a woman"; v, 24, "Enoch was seen no more"; vii, 24, "the waters held on above the earth an 150 days."

Exod. iii, 14, "I am which am."

Num. xx, 19, "we will go by the beaten way."

Judges viii, 34, "called his esquire"; xix, 17, "saw the man sitting with his fardels."

Job viii, 12, "or a seggie place grow without water?" ix, 17, "in a hurle wind shal he break me"; xii, 18, "he looseth the belt of kings"; xv, 27, "fatnes hath covered his face, and from his sides there hangeth tallow"; xl, 13, "his bones are as pipes of brass"; xli, 15, "compact as the smith's stithie."

Psalms lxvi, 15, "oxen with bucke goats"; lxvii, 4, "let the just make merrie"; lxviii, 11, "our Lord shall give the word to them that evangelize with great power"—power, as the Hebrew shows, meaning host or army—but the Rhemists took it as signifying "ability to work miracles."

Isaiah liii, 5, "with the waile of his stripe we are healed."

Jerem. viii, 22, "is there noe rosen in Galaad?"

Amos ii, 13, "behold I will screake under you as a wayne screaketh loden with hay."

The note to Psalm xlvi, 3, is "Therefore all Catholics may assuredly know that the whole church cannot fail, though very many as now in England and very eminent persons, as some noblemen and some priests, have revolted."

There are some translations beyond common comprehension, but so are the common Latin text and the Greek version which it represents :—

2 Chron. i, 13, "King Solomon came from the excelse of Gabaon"; xxxiii, 3, "he reedified the excelses"; 6, "through fire to the Valebennom."

Job ix, 13, "under whom they stoop that carry the world"; xxi, 33, "he hath been sweet to the gravel of Cocytus"; xxvi, 13, "his spirit has adorned the heavens, and his hand being the midwife"; xxxiv, 18, "Apostata, that calleth dukes impious."

Psalms l, 5, "his saints, . . . which ordaine his testament above sacrifices"; lviii, 10, "before your thorns did understand the old briar"; xc, 9, "our years shall be considered as a spyder. . . . because mildness is come upon us, and we shall be chastised"; xci, 6, "thou shalt not be afraid of business walking in darkness, of invasion and the midday devil"—all according to the Vulgate.

Many verses in the Psalter, singly or in groups, have a comment after them, and at Psalm liv, 3, we read, "barbarous highland men have betrayed the place."

A revision of the Psalms (Psalms of David translated from the Vulgate, 1700) was made by John Caryl, secretary at St. Germains to the queen of James II; and the volume has the approbation of Dr. Betham, serenissimi principis Walliae Preceptor—that is, tutor to the Pretender. The reason and nature of his work are thus given by him :—"So it is that in some places the Latine Text of the Psalms rigorously translated word by word would yeeld a scarse intelligible sense in the language into which it is translated: and wher that happens, it seems reasonable that such a *latitude* and liberty should be allow'd as is necessary to make the sense of the Text, as it is generally understood by the most approv'd authors, intelligible to the reader, especially in a Translation intended only for the privat devotions of Lay persons."

The theological notes of the entire version—Old and New Testament—are Romish without disguise :—

Matt. xxv, "Heaven is the reward of good works."

2 Tim. iv, "The parable also of the men sent into the vineyard proveth that heaven is our own right, bargained for and wrought for, and accordingly paid unto us as our hire at the day of judgment."

Heb. x, 21, "Adoration may be done to creatures or to God at and before a creature," the rendering in the text being, "adored the top of his rod."

Luke xi, "Alms extinguish sin—they deliver from death"; xii, 21, "By goods bestowed upon the poor, he hath store of merit, many alms-men's prayers procuring mercy for him at the day of his death"; xvi, 28, "If the damned had care of their friends . . . much more have the saints and saved persons. And if those in hell have means to express their cogitations and desires, and be understood by Abraham, much rather may the living pray to the saints, and be heard of them."

Rev. vi, "Saints be present at their tombs and reliques"; xvii, "putting heretics to death is not to shed the blood of the saints"; "Heresy and apostacy from the Catholic faith punishable by death." The woman touching the hem of Christ's garment is held out as a warrant for the "devout touching of holy relikes," Mark v. The note to Matt. vi, 24, explains the "two masters" to be God and Baal, Christ and Calvin, Masse and Communion, &c.

There is appended to the New Testament a list of fifty-five words "not familiar to the vulgar reader," but many of them are now in common use, as abstracted, acquisition, adulterate, advent, allegory, calumniate, catechize, condign, evangelize, eunuch, holocaust, gratis, invocate, issue, prescience, resuscitate, victims. Some of the other terms have not become familiar as, assist in a sacerdotal sense; assumption for Christ's ascension, dominical, donary, gratified meaning made gracious, hosts for sacrifices. There are other Latin terms in the list which have occurred in the specimens already given, and these have not been naturalized. To prove that St. Peter was in Rome, they hold that by Babylon, in his first Epistle, v, 13, is meant the Italian capital, and they shut their eyes to the consequences of such an interpretation. But they notify that Protestants and Calvinists are the forerunners of Antichrist.

How this Catholic Bible, with its version and its notes, struck shrewd and hostile observers, may be seen in these sentences of Fulke's Dedication of his Defence to the Queen: "Among the inestimable benefits, wherewith Almighty God hath wonderfully blessed this your majesty's most honourable and prosperous government, it is not to be numbered among the least, that under your most gracious and Christian protection the people of your highness' dominions have enjoyed the most necessary and comfortable reading of the holy scriptures in their mother tongue and native language. Which exercise, although it hath of long time, by the adversaries of him that willeth the scriptures to be searched (especially those of our nation) been accounted little better than an heretical practice; and treatises have been written, pretending to shew great inconvenience of having the holy scriptures in the vulgar tongue; yet now at length perceiving they cannot prevail to bring in that darkness and ignorance of God's most sacred word and will therein contained, whereby their blind devotion, the daughter of ignorance, as they themselves profess, was wont to make them rulers of the world, they also at the last are become translators of the New Testament into English. In which, that I speak nothing of their insincere purpose, in leaving the pure fountain of the original verity, to follow the crooked stream of their barbarous vulgar Latin translation, which (beside all other manifest corruptions) is found defective in more than an hundred places, as your majesty, according to the excellent knowledge in both the tongues wherewith God hath blessed you, is very well able to judge; and to omit even the same book of their translation, pestered with so many annotations, both false and undutiful, by which, under colour of the authority of holy scriptures, they seek to infect the minds of the credulous readers with heretical and superstitious opinions, and to alienate their hearts from yielding due obedience to your majesty and your most christian laws concerning true religion established; and that I may pass over the very text of their translation, obscured without any necessary or just cause with such a multitude of so strange and unusual terms, as to the ignorant are no less difficult to understand

than the Latin or Greek itself: yet is it not meet to be concealed, that they which neither truly nor precisely have translated their own vulgar Latin and only authentical text, have nevertheless been bold to set forth a several treatise, in which most slanderously and unjustly they accuse all our English translations of the Bible, not of small imperfections and oversights committed through ignorance or negligence, but of no less than most foul dealing in partial and false translations, wilful and heretical corruptions."

On the other hand, Gregory Martin attacked the rendering of the proper names in the English version in these terms:—

"Of one thing we can by no means excuse you, but it must savour vanity, or novelty, or both. As when you affect new strange words, which the people are not acquainted withal, but it is rather Hebrew to them than English. 'Against him came up Nabuchadnezzar, king of Babel,' 2 Par. xxxvi. 6, for 'Nabuchodonosor, king of the Chaldees'; 'Saneherib,' for 'Sennacherib'; 'Michaiah's prophecy,' for 'Michæa's'; 'Jehoshaphat's prayer,' for 'Josaphat's'; 'Uzza slain,' for 'Oza'; 'when Zerubbabel went about to build the temple,' for 'Zorobabel'; 'remember what the Lord did to Miriam,' for 'Marie,' Deut. xxxiv.: and in your first translation, 'Elisa,' for 'Elisæus'; 'Pekahia' and 'Pekah,' for 'Phaceia' and 'Phacee'; 'Uziahu,' for 'Ozias'; 'Thiglath-peleser,' for 'Teglath-phalasar'; 'Ahaziahu,' for 'Ochozias'; 'Peka, the son of Remaliahu,' for 'Phacee, the son of Romelia.' And why say you not as well 'Shelomoh,' for 'Salomon'; and 'Coresh,' for 'Cyrus,' and so alter every word from the known sound and pronunciation thereof? Is this to teach the people, when you speak Hebrew rather than English? Were it a goodly hearing (think you) to say for 'Jesus,' 'Jeshuah'; and for 'Marie,' his mother, 'Miriam'; and for 'Messias,' 'Messiach'; and 'John,' 'Jachannan'; and such like monstrous novelties? which you might as well do, and the people would understand you as well, as when your preachers say, 'Nabucadnezer, king of Babel.'"

Fulke's simple answer is, "Seeing the most of the proper names of the Old Testament were unknown to the people before

the Scripture was read in English, it was better to utter them according to the truth of their pronunciation in Hebrew, rather than after the common corruption which they had received in the Greek and Latin tongues. But as for those names which were known unto the people out of the New Testament, as Jesus, John, Mary, &c., it had been folly to have taught men to sound them otherwise than after the Greek declination, in which we find them."[1]

The Rheims translators and divines attack all the English versions. Robert Parsons, *alias* John Howlett, in giving "Reasons why Catholics refuse to go to Church," alleges that "the Scripture is read there in false and shameless translations conteyning manifest and wilful corruptions." Standish, a reformer under Edward VI, and rector of Wigan, having dismissed his wife, and gone over to Rome, published, in 1554, a book of characteristic virulence, "A Treatise against the translation of the Bible into the vulgar language." Cardinal Allen, too, brands the English Bible as "falsely corrupted and deceitfully translated." Gregory Martin calls it "not indeed God's book, word, or scripture, but the devil's worde," and sums up his charges against the Protestant versions thus: "Now then to come to our purpose, such are the absurd translations of the English Bibles, and altogether like unto these: namely, when they translate 'congregation' for 'church,' 'elder' for 'priest,' 'image' for 'idol,' 'dissension' for 'schism,' 'general' for 'catholic,' 'secret' for 'sacrament,' 'overseer' for 'bishop,' 'messenger' for 'angel,' 'ambassador' for 'apostle,' 'minister' for 'deacon,' and such like: to what other end be these deceitful translations, but to conceal and obscure the name of the church and dignities thereof, mentioned in the holy scriptures; to dissemble the word 'schism' (as they do also 'heresy' and 'heretic') for fear of disgracing their schisms and heresies; to say of 'matrimony,' neither 'sacrament,' which is the Latin, nor 'mystery,' which is the Greek, but to go as far as they can possibly from the common usual and ecclesiastical words, saying, 'This is a great secret,' in favour of their heresy, that matrimony is no sacrament?"[2] Matthew Kellison utters the

[1] Reply, &c., pp. 588, 589.

[2] Fulke, pp. 218, 219.

same language as Martin—his prime reason being that the Scripture in the English tongue is not according to the sense of ancient interpreters, nor under the Church of Rome. The reply is easy, and needs not to be formally given. Cartwright, under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester, and of Walsingham who gave him a hundred pounds to purchase books, and at the request of many heads of Houses in Cambridge,[1] began an assault on the Rheims New Testament the year after its publication; but Whitgift, in the plenitude of his prerogative, interdicted him. Whitgift had always opposed Cartwright with unsleeping hostility, and in this case he allowed ecclesiastical politics and antipathies to suppress a work of national benefit. The press was not free, and episcopal supervision could put down what was not relished, and condemn a book on account of its author's unlucky antecedents. A portion of this Reply, from which an extract has been already given, was published at Edinburgh in 1602. Cartwright died in the following year, and the full volume was published in 1618. Fulke not only wrote a "Defence of Translations of the Bible,"[2] with overwhelming and unanswerable criticism and argument, but also "The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes,"[3] in which he tartly and truthfully criticises the translation, verse by verse. Bulkeley also took part in the controversy in an "Answer to the Rhemish preface," &c., 1588; and Whitaker, who had no sympathy with Cartwright, published against Bellarmine, in 1610, his well known "Disputation on Holy Scripture." "In 1615, Kellison ventured to publish 'A Gagg for the Reformed Gospel,' which was answered by Dr. Richard Montagu, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, in his 'A Gagg for the New Gospel? No: a new Gagg for an old Goose, who would needes undertake to stop all Protestants' mouths for ever with 276 places out of their own English Bibles.' Bernard, rector of Batcombe, in Somersetshire, and author of a 'Thesaurus Biblicus,' published in 1626 'Rhemes against Rome:

[1] He had been Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity.

[2] Reprinted by the Parker Society.

[3] London, 1589.

or, the removing of "The Gag of the New Gospel," and rightly placing it in the mouthes of the *Romists* by the *Rhemists*, in their English translation of the Scriptures.' 'The Rhemist priestes,' he wrote, 'for making any translation at all of the Bible into the English tongue (though out of the Vulgar Latine, though obscured by affected phrases, and distorted by their corrupt Annotations), yet are said to have bin beshrewed by their own more subtile Masters and Superiors, as having thereby layed open to the people the nakednesse and deformitie of their Romish doctrines. And thereby have I the more willingly produced the same against themselves; the power and lustre of God's Word, though clouded and disguised by their purposed obscurite and improprieties, yet competently shining forth, for their conviction, by this unwilling wounding of *Rome* by the out-workes of Rhemes." [1]

The Catholic translators, while they speak of following the most perfect Latin edition, do not seem to have made use of Wycliffe. But their renderings are now and then coincident with the Genevan version, and they quote Hebrew words in the margin of the Old Testament. On the margin of almost every page of the translation, and in the notes, the heretics are attacked as Protestants or bigots, and a fragment of the following Table will show the frequency of the allusions—"A table of certaine places of the New Testament, corrvptly translated in favour of heresies of these dayes in the English editions: especially of the yeares 1562-77-79 and 80, by order of the bookes, chapters, and verses of the same. Wherein we do not charge our aduersaries for disagreeing from the authentical Latin text (wherof much is saide in the preface) but for corrupting the Greek it selfe, which they pretende to translate.

"S. Matt., chap. i, 19, For 'a iust man,' they translate 'a righteous man': because this word 'iust' importeth that a man is iust in deede and not only so reputed. And so generally where 'iust' or 'iustice' is ioyned with good workes, they say 'righteous' and 'righteousness': yet being joined with faith, they keepe the olde termes 'iust' and 'iustice.'

[1] Cotton's Rhemes and Doway, Oxford, 1855.

"Chap. ii, 6, For 'rule' or 'gouerne' they translate 'feede' to diminishe ecclesiastical authoritie, which the Greeke word signifieth; as also the Hebrewe, Mich. v, whence this is cited.

"Chap. iii, 2, 8, For 'do penance' and 'fruite worthie of penance' (which signify painful satisfaction for sinne), they translate 'repent and repentance': or 'amendment of life.'

"Chap. xvi, 18, For 'church' they translate 'congregation,' and that so continually euery where in Tindals Bible, printed againe Ann. 1562, that the worde 'Church', is not once there to be founde. Which the other Editions correcting in other places, yet in this place it remayneth corrupted, reading still 'upon this rocke I wil build my congregation,' so loath they are it should appeare how firmly the Church of Christ is founded.

"Chap. xviii, 17, The same corruption in Tind. Bib., 'Tel the congregation' and 'If he wil not heare the congregation,' for 'Tel the Church,' and 'If he wil not hear the Church.'

"Chap. xix, 11, Our Sauiour speaking of continencie saith: 'Not al take this word' which they peruert thus, 'Al men can not take this word': against free-wil, and vow of chastitie.

"Chap. xxvi, 26, For 'blessed' they translate 'gaue thanks,' against the operation and efficacie of Christes blessing.

"S. Mark, chap. x, 52, For 'thy faith had made thee safe' speaking of corporal sight geuen to the blind, they translate 'thy faith hath saued thee,' to make it seeme that iustification and saluation is by only faith.

"Chap. xiv, 22, For 'blessing,' they saye 'geuing thanks', as Matt. xxvi, 26.

"S. Luke, chap. i, 6, For 'iust' and 'iustifications' they translate, 'righteous' and 'ordinances.'

"i. 6, For 'Haile ful of grace,' they translate 'Haile thou that art in high fauour,' and 'Haile thou that art freely beloued': though Tindal said 'Haile ful of grace,' the 'Aue Marie' being not then banished as since it is.

"Chap. iii, 8, For 'penance,' they say 'repentance,' as before, Mat. iii, 2, and 8.

"Chap. viii, 48, For 'thy faith hath made thee safe' (to wit from corporal infirmitie) they translate, 'thy faith hath saued thee."

"viii, 50, For 'beleeue only and she shal be safe,' they say 'beleeue only and she shal be saued': in fauour of the forsaid heresie of only faith: neither marking that this safetie pertaineth to the bodie, nor that it is attributed to the faith of an other, and not of the partie restored.

"Chap. xviii, 42, For 'thy faith hath made thee whole' or 'safe,' they saie, as in the former places, 'thy faith hath saued thee.'

"Chap. xxii, 20, Beza (whom the English Protestantes herein defend) condemneth the Greeke text (which he confesseth to be the same in al copies) because by it the relatiue, 'which,' must needes be referred to the Chalice, and so proueth the real presence of Christs bloude in the Chalice.

"S. John, chap. i, 12, For 'he gave them powre to be made the sonnes of God,' Beza and his folowers translate 'he gaue them the dignitie' (others say 'the prerogatiue') to be the sonnes 'of God': against free-wil.

"Chap. ix, 22 and 35, For 'put out of the Synagogue' they translate 'excommunicate': as though the Catholike Churches excommunication of heretikes, from the societie and participation of the faithful, were like to that exteriour putting out of the Synagogue, of such as confessed Christ.

"Chap. xiii, 16, For 'Apostle' they translate 'messenger': turning an Ecclesiastical word, into the original and prophane signification."

The second edition of the New Testament was "set forth" in 1600, "by the same college now returned to Doway," Antwerp, Daniel Veruliet. It contains a table of heretical corruptions, and at the end of it stands the remark—"The blessed confessor, Bishop Tunstal, noted no less than two thousand corruptions in Tindal's translation, in the New Testament only. Thereby, as by these few here cited for example, the indifferent reader may see, how untruly the English Bibles are commended to the people for the pure Word of God." A third edition appeared at the same place in 1621, and a fourth in 1633

—probably at Rouen—a reprint of the edition of 1600. A second edition of the Old Testament was published in 1635, and no other edition of it was printed for 115 years. Later editions were revised by Haydock, Lingard, Kenrick, Withan, Nary, Challoner, and others; and the copies now in use have been toned down and brought into considerable harmony with our current Bibles. The greatest changes were introduced in Dr. Challoner's edition. Nary explains his motive in his preface: "We have no Catholick translation of the Scripture in the English tongue, but the Doway Bible, and the Rhemish Testament, which have been done now more than an hundred years since: the language whereof is so old, the words in many places so obsolete, the orthography so bad, and the translation so very literal, that in a number of places it is unintelligible, and all over so grating to the ears of such as are accustomed to speak, in a manner, another language, that most people will not be at the pains of reading them. Besides, they are so bulky, that they cannot conveniently be carried about for publick devotion; and so scarce and dear, that the generality of people neither have, nor can procure them for their private use. To supply all these defects, I have endeavoured to make this New Testament speak the English tongue now used, as near as the many Hebraisms wherewith it abounds, and which (in my opinion) ought never to be altered where they can be rendered so as to be intelligible, would allow. I have taken all the care imaginable to keep as close to the letter as the English will permit; and where the Latin phrase would prove unintelligible in the English, a word, or two or more, must be added to make the sense clear."[1] "A New Version of the Four Gospels," "by a Catholic," was published in 1836 anonymously—the author being the well-known historian Dr. Lingard. The volume has no dedication prefixed, and is not accompanied or commended by any approbation granted by the ecclesiastical authorities of the translator's own church. It is not, however, a revision of the Rheims, as it cuts deeply into its English, and is apparently in many places taken from the Greek, and not from the Latin Vulgate. Though his

[1] Cotton, p. 299.

"History" shows that the author was a very decided Catholic, he has in the translation given "repent," for "do penance"; "bondman," for "servant"; "Messiah," for "Christ"; "Good-tidings," for "Gospel"; "tax-gatherer," for "publican"; "fiends," for "devils"; "figures," for "proverbs"; "announce," for "preach"; "verily," for "amen"; "causes of offence," for "scandals"; and "righteousness," for "justice." About his notes Dr. Lingard warns: "It may be proper to inform the reader, that the notes, which are appended to the text in the following pages, are not of a controversial character. Their object is the elucidation of obscure passages, or the explication of allusions to national customs, or the statement of the reasons which have induced the translator to differ occasionally from preceding interpreters. Many of these he has consulted, though he has not thought proper to load his pages with references to their works."[1] The translation was reviewed by Cardinal Wiseman, and faintly praised; though in the article the whole subject of revision is discussed with great ability, and his judgment about the Bible of his church is not extreme: "To call it any longer the Doway or Rhemish version is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published; and so far as simplicity and energy of style are concerned, the changes are in general for the worse"—the truly papal conclusion being[2]: "The impression on the reader's mind, after having perused this edition, must be, that Christianity never depended, for its code or evidences, upon the compilation of these documents [the Gospels], and that they never could have been intended for a rule of faith."[3]

The old Latin Bible or Vulgate still lives in the midst of us, for we owe to it all our Christian terms ending in "ation," and nearly all the distinctive words of our theological vocabulary—as person, essence, scripture, lecture, sermon, text,

[1] Cotton, Rhemes and Doway, p. 137.

[2] Dublin Review, April, 1837. Reprinted in Wiseman's Essays, vol. 1, p. 73-75, London, 1853.

[3] Collations of these editions may be seen in Archdeacon Cotton's "Rhemes and Doway," Oxford, 1855.

grace, adoption, repentance, spirit, glory, satisfaction, conversion, sacrament, regeneration, justification, sanctification, redemption, privilege, election, eternity, predestination, communion, congregation, discipline, missionary.[1]

The influence of the Latin church is also very apparent still in the nomenclature of even Protestant Presbyterian Scotland. The chairman of a presbytery or synod is called its "moderator"; he who presides when a minister is chosen "moderates" in a call; he who executes a commission given him by a church court "obtemperates" their decision; the elders in a church form its "session"; the chairman of the board of secular management is the "preses"; the Lord's Supper is the "sacrament," the previous discourse is the "Action sermon," and the bread and wine the "elements"; the leader of the psalmody is the "precentor"; the collection was in days not long past the "offering"; the pastor is the "minister," and in olden times the "Instrument," his house is the "manse," he is "licensed" to preach and becomes a "probationer" till he is "ordained" over a charge; a bad report about him is a "fama," which, on being proved, may lead to his "suspension" or "deposition"; presence at worship is "attendance upon ordinances"; the decisions of a synod or assembly are its "Acts"; a minister's income is his "stipend"; "purgation of scandal" is not obsolete—and there are many other familiar technical terms and phrases.

[1] For some renderings, the result of deplorable ecclesiastical bias, reference may be made to Bishop Kidder's "Reflections on a French New Testament" printed at Bordeaux, 1686; and reprinted in Cotton's "Memoir of a French New Testament," in which the "Mass" and "Purgatory" are found in the "Sacred Text." London, 1863.

It may be mentioned that Parsons, already referred to on p. 148, wrote under the name of Doleman a "Conference," in which he maintained, with considerable ingenuity, the right of the Spanish Infanta to the English crown. A reply was made by the great Scottish jurist, Sir Thomas Craig, in 1602.

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION.

"If the Arian heresy was propagated and rooted by means of beautiful vernacular hymns, so who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on in the ear like a music that never can be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how long he can forego. Its felicities seem often to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. Nay, it is worshipped with a positive idolatry; in extenuation of whose grotesque fanaticism, its intrinsic beauty pleads availingly with the man of letters and the scholar. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments; and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. It has been to him all along as the silent, but O how intelligible, voice of his guardian angel; and in the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant, with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

F. W. Faber.

CHAPTER XLIII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, after a reign of more than forty-four years, died on the 24th of March, 1603; and on the 5th April, James VI of Scotland left Edinburgh, and proceeded to London, to take possession of the English crown as the great-grandson of Margaret Tudor, and he had the good fortune to quash the claims of several rivals without public disturbance.[1] Though he was now thirty-seven years of age, he made the journey with all the glee of a schoolboy released for a holiday, and scattered honours about him in indiscriminate profusion. Utterly devoid of those graces of form and manner which characterized his mother, wanting also the dignity and gallant bearing of his great kinswoman and predecessor, he yet received a frank and harmonious welcome from his new subjects.

Strange and romantic incidents had marked his infantine years. Born in the Castle of Edinburgh on the 19th of June,

[1] After the death of James IV at Flodden, his widow, Margaret Tudor, married the Earl of Angus, and by this union Lady Arabella Stewart, cousin of King James, was her great-grand-daughter. King Henry, in his will, put aside the Scottish line, the descendants of his elder sister Margaret, and gave preference to the line of Suffolk, the descendants of his younger sister Mary. James said, in his parting harangue to his northern people, that as he was righteous heir to the Scottish crown, so he was "righteous and more righteous" heir to the English crown—as if he had surmised that this last title was, or might be, called in question. The dedication prefixed to our present Bible throws in an assertion ever dear to its royal patron, when it speaks of "the government established in your Highness, and your hopeful seed, by an undoubted title."

1566, he was baptized in the chapel of Stirling Castle on the 15th December of the same year. His father, Darnley, though he was living at the time in the Fort,[1] was not present at the service which was held by torch light, but the Protestant Bothwell, so soon to be wedded to his mother after the Kirk-o'-Field tragedy of which he was a chief promoter, did the honours on the occasion. His baptismal font of gold weighing 330 ounces, and a present from Queen Elizabeth, was sent shortly after by his mother to the mint, to be turned into cash, in order to provide payment to "the bloody cut-throats" that formed her body-guard at the time of her marriage to that worthless and desperate ruffian by whom she was so bewitched as for his sake to renounce the Catholic faith, and renew the prohibition of the Mass, according to the enactment of 1560. She was wedded in her "dule weeds" as a widow, and the marriage was celebrated, not in the chapel, but in the council-chamber of Holyrood, none of the lords living in Edinburgh at the time deigning to be present at the fatal nuptials. Political events were rushing with tremendous rapidity; and Mary having, in her islet prison, signed her abdication on the 24th of July, 1567, her son was, four days afterwards, solemnly consecrated king at Stirling when he was thirteen months old, his head being put for a moment into the great Bruce's crown, and his hand made to touch the sword and sceptre, while through his sponsors, Lord Hume and the Earl of Morton,[2] he took the oath, "I, James, Prince and Steward of Scotland . . . ." The mystic ceremonial being over, the Earl of Mar carried the anointed babe back to its nursery. Before he was two years old he was, by another representative —the Regent Murray—fighting against his mother; and her defeat at Langside by her son, through her half-brother, sent her a swift fugitive across the Border, to a long imprisonment and a terrible end.

The earliest memories of James were those of a boyish

[1] He was at the moment a doomed man, the "bond" being already signed for the destruction "of sic an young fool and proud tyran."

[2] John Knox preached on the occasion, though it is said that he objected to the anointing.

kinglet. On assuming the government, at the age of twelve, he presided in royal robes at a meeting of Council at Stirling, and spoke the words put into his mouth; but during the discussion he was specially exercised about a hole in the cloth which covered the table. His first visit in state to Edinburgh was typical of his subsequent career. On his arrival at the West Port, the pageant presented before him was the decision of the wise king, the actors being the two women with the child, and a servant with the sword. When he drew nigh to the "Great Kirk" "Dame Religion" asked him to enter; and, dismounting "at the lady's steps," he complied with the invitation. But when he came out, and moved down toward the cross, he was saluted by a "jolly Bacchus," who, seated on a barrel, drank again and again to his majesty's welcome, while puncheons were running wine for the mob.

James was indeed made up of contrasts, and his character presents a species of dualism. Nature had apparently intended him to be the greatest of his race in person and mind, but from the shock which his mother had received at the assassination of Rizzio, "he was a spoiled child, in a deplorably literal sense, before he was born," and the weakling was seven years old before he could stand upright, so that often in after life it was his wont to poise himself by leaning on the shoulders of others. His physical weakness was very visible, and when he engaged in the chase he had to be trussed into his saddle; but when "in the kirk," on Sunday, 3rd April, 1603, he delivered his last address to his Scottish subjects, and promised to visit them every three years, his boast was, "Ye mister not doubt, for I have a bodie als able as anie king in Europe." In early life he was an "old young man." The descendant of a long line of kings—Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stewarts—he was awkward in gait, and uncouth in person and manner, while "he ate and drank, dressed and played like a boor."[1] His tongue being too large for his mouth, his loquacity was a continuous sputter. While he "wallowed in filth, moral and physical,"[2] it was his joy to regard himself as the "Lord's

[1] Despatch of M. Fontenay—Froude, History, vol. XI, p. 664.

[2] Burton, History of Scotland, vol. VI, 161.

anointed." As he never washed his hands, the honour of kissing them must have exceeded the pleasure. Boasting of his tenacious hold of his sceptre, as if he had been a "mortal god" on earth, he was ever tossing it to unworthy favourites, as a bauble to play with—such favourites as Esmé Stewart in Scotland, and Buckingham in England, the latter of whom, in vulgar familiarity, used to name his sovereign "dear Dad and Gossip." His hatreds were as unaccountable as his likings which might vary, but his prejudices always tended to ripen into lasting antipathies. When he suspected that people imagined him to be facile, he sank into fits of sullenness and obstinacy, lest, to use his own words, he should be regarded as "led by the nose," or thought to be "ane irresolute ass." Though timid in temperament, he could be scared into momentary bravery. It has now been proved that the famous Gowrie conspiracy, in 1600, was a reality, but few of the king's contemporaries believed his account of it. His solitary adventure—the one romance of his life—was his voyage to Norway, to bring home his Danish bride. He had told his council that this matrimonial step was taken after asking the "Divine direction for fifteen days to move his heart the meetest way," and the General Assembly ordered a fast every Sabbath, and public prayers for his safety during his absence in Denmark. But while these loyal intercessions for him were going on in Edinburgh, he wrote to a friend a letter which begins, "From the Castle of Cronberg, where we are drinking and driving over in the auld manner." His shrewdness was barren and unpractical, and men of far less talent easily outwitted him. His possession of great good sense and humour, and his power of clothing a thought in a pithy and pregnant clause equal often to one of Bacon's, did not save him from being an oracular simpleton. He often meant well, but his best resolves died away in helpless and ludicrous indecision. Courtiers hoodwinked him by praising his subtlety. Coke, his surly attorney-general, was perfectly aware of the process by which the Gunpowder Plot had been detected, but, hungering for preferment, he ascribed the discovery to the king himself, and extolled him as "divinely illuminated by Almighty God, and like an angel of

God." He had the best head in his Council, but his sagacity rarely served him in ordinary business, and when he tried a Machiavellian policy, he was ever like a mole, blundering into light. He was cunning and indiscreet by turns, his gravity and levity being about as nearly balanced as were his hours of hunting and study. He raised Carr to the peerage, and sent Raleigh to the block. He wrote on theology and on tobacco. He acted like a child in matters of moment, but was awed into solemnity about trifles—as when he formally charged the head of the King's Bench with the crime of allowing his servant to ride bare-headed before him. Nor was he guileless; he corresponded with the pope on the one hand, and with the queen of England on the other, and thought that he was doing a clever piece of diplomacy in trying to ingratiate himself with two such masters. According to the English queen, who stigmatized him as "a double-tongued villain," he had been in the habit of calling Lord Morton "his father," up to the time when he contrived to have that nobleman seized, tried, and executed. He could not bear the sight of a drawn sword, and he was a sincere lover of peace, but his love of peace was sometimes allowed to degenerate into pusillanimity, as when he permitted his own son-in-law to be beaten out of his kingdom by the Imperial troops. In his desire to please, he occasionally allowed his subjects to fight under opposing standards. The assassination of Henry IV of France, the Armada, and the Gunpowder Plot, were fresh in the nation's memory, as events but of yesterday, and the king showed some desire to guard against such perils. But he subsided at length into a Catholic policy, as he longed for a Spanish alliance. His common talk was a continuous infringement of the Third Commandment, though he often expressed penitence for his lapses; and his Book of Sports was an attempt to induce a national violation of another Commandment, though it was curiously enacted in the royal wisdom, that none should share in the Sunday games but such as had attended church. He prided himself on his profound skill in kingcraft, which was too often but another name for insincerity and absolutism, and yet was hailed as the "wisest fool in Christendom." His belief in kingly supremacy was

only excelled by his belief in himself, and the immorality of his court was equalled by the imbecility of his government. Parliament had settled the amount of taxation on a certain import, but he had, of his own authority, and quite unconstitutionally, tripled the sum. When the case came to be heard in the Court of Exchequer, and when Chief Baron Fleming had decided in favour of the crown, James saluted him as "a judge to his heart's content." He held that as it was "blasphemy for divines to dispute what God might do," so it was sedition for subjects to discuss "what a king may do in the height of his power;" but his senseless notions of prerogative daily inculcated on his family, and so fully imbibed by them, brought in due time his son and successor to the scaffold before Whitehall. He strove hard to get royal proclamations identified in validity with statutes, as had been the case for a time in the reign of Henry VIII and by virtue of a proclamation he took the style and title of King of Great Britain. At the instigation of Bancroft, he claimed the right to sit in a court of law, and decide in person causes brought before him. Indeed, during his progress through England up to his new capital, he had sent a thief to the gallows without trial. He was so vain as to discuss legal questions with Lord Coke, "the incarnation of the common law of England," and so unjust as to dismiss the brave and unbending judge from his office of Chief Justice. When he chose St. James's day as the day of his coronation, he honoured his own name in that of the patron apostle; and a portion of the Ritual was altered, for to the words "laws which the king promised to observe" was added the clause, "agreeable to the king's prerogative." Tenacious of his own money, he was a lavish promiser of that of others, and his generous deeds were often sullied by subsequent acts of selfishness. It cost him nothing to visit Tycho Brahe and grant him a license of copyright in "his auld kingdom," or to give a prebendal stall to Isaac Casaubon; but he allowed old Archbishop Adamson, both a scholar and a poet, to languish and die in penury, —cowering on the one side of the fire and his cow stationed on the other—even though he had in his depression tried to stir

the royal sympathy by translating into Latin verse the Lamentations of Jeremiah. He also gave Casaubon an annual salary of £300, for which he was expected to fetch and carry in the king's polemical feuds. The patent conferring the salary, which is dated 19th January, 1611, speaks of the great scholar as coming to England, "to be used by us as we shall see cause, for the service of the Church." In the preparation of the reply to Cardinal Du Perron, the king supplied the argument, and Casaubon provided the Latin. James, however, has the credit of suggesting to Father Paul the compilation of his "History of the Council of Trent," and of urging Ussher to write his "Antiquities of the British Churches"; but he seems to have thought that such royal counsel was sufficient reward for literary labour.

Though his household was early noted for its profligacy, and though he himself was very far from being a pattern of sobriety or of sanctity of speech, James was a great frequenter of sermons; and though he was an "irreverent hearer,"[1] he had acquired a wonderful knowledge of Scripture and theology. His precocious acquaintance with the Bible was noted in his eighth year, and Killigrew,[2] the English Ambassador, heard him in the presence of his "preceptor," Buchanan, and his "master," Young, read off any chapter selected out of Latin into French, and out of French after into English, as well as few men could have added anything to his translation. James Melville records in his "Diary"[3] that when he visited Stirling, in 1574, he saw the young king, and he describes him as "the sweitest sight in Europe that day, for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and language;" and he thus proceeds, "I heard him discours, walking up and doune in the auld Lady Mar's hand—of knowledge and ignorance, to my grait mervell and estonishment." He had a special ecstacy in theological disputations, and when, in his twenty-first year,

[1] In 1596 the General Assembly sent a deputation to him, to warn him not to talk during sermon, and to abstain from swearing, "with which he was blotted."

[2] Burton, History of Scotland, vol. V, p. 389.

[3] P. 48, Woodrow Society edition.

he held a solemn debate at Holyrood with the Jesuit Gordon, a cadet of the house of Huntly, he bore himself bravely through the controversy. Grotius sang the praises of his learned youth, and to him, in his fourteenth year, Beza dedicated his "Icones." He was under twenty when he produced his "Paraphrase upon the Revelation of St. John," and little more than twenty when he published "Ane Fruitful Meditatione," &c., on some verses of the twentieth chapter of the same Book—"By the maist Christian king and syncere professour, and chief defender of the faith, James the Sixth, King of Scottis." In 1584 he published "The Essayes of a Prentise in the divine arte of Poesie." In his manhood, as in his earlier years, Biblical studies had an irresistible charm for him, and he composed commentaries and translated Psalms.[1] Quotations from Scripture in illustration of some argument, or to give point to some statement, were on all occasions flowing from his tongue; his common talk was characterized by allusions to the Bible, in season and out of season. He "wondrously coveted learned discussions," and during such discussions he delighted in pouring out his erudition in full flood. "As he had been deprived by the accident of birth of his true position as a theological professor, he lost no opportunity of turning his throne into a pulpit, and his sceptre into a controversial pen."[2] "Having," as he confessed, "a natural and salmon-like affection to see the place of his breeding," he came down to Edinburgh in 1617, and was inundated not only with Latin harangues, but when he went, on his fifty-first birthday, up to the Castle to visit the room he was born in, a boy was stationed at the gate to salute him with an address in Hebrew. He held disputations also at St. Andrews and Stirling, during which, and especially after which, he played the part of a pedant and buffoon. It was profound satisfaction to him, in the prime

[1] "His translation of the Psalter," as Bishop William intimates, "was stayed in the one-and-thirty Psalm," and his coadjutor was the Earl of Stirling.

[2] Motley, Life and Death of John of Barneveld, vol. I, p. 54, London, 1874.

of life, when he stirred up such antagonists as Bellarmine and Scioppius, and it was "bliss beyond compare" when a pamphlet of a hundred pages which he had written in a week, brought out from Cardinal Du Perron a reply of a thousand folio pages. He wrote at this time a "Monitory Epistle to all Christian Monarchs, free Princes, and States," and republished his *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus,* to which Bellarmine replied with no small craft and power. The question concerned Garnett, one of the conspirators who suffered for his connection with the Gunpowder Plot, and whom the Catholics were canonizing as a martyr to the inviolability of the secrets of the confessional. Bishop Andrewes replied to Fronto Ducaeus in his Tortura Torti, and Casaubon also composed an Epistola which brought upon him a Responsio from Andreas Eudæmon-Johannes[1] (L'Heureux), second in virulence and effrontery only to Scioppius himself. To these polemical efforts of the king flattering allusions are made in the Dedication prefixed to our Bibles:— "To go forward with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious among them: their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts, as that sanctified person who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness. And this their contentment doth not diminish or decay, but every day increaseth and taketh strength, when they observe that the zeal of your majesty toward the house of God doth not slack or go backward, but is more and more kindled, manifesting itself abroad in the farthest parts of Christendom, by writing in defence of the truth (which hath given such a blow unto that man of sin as will not be healed), and every day at home, by religious and learned discourse, by frequenting the house of God, by hearing the Word preached, by cherishing the teachers thereof, by caring for the Church, as a most tender and loving nursing father." But his love of orthodoxy was overborne by his worship of

[1] Life of Casaubon, by Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, p. 351, London, 1875.

prerogative, as when he ordered the Calvinistic work of Pareus on Romans to be burned by the hangman in Oxford and London, because a preacher had vindicated some notions on the liberty of the subject out of that erudite commentary. In the same spirit he opposed and wrote against Conrad Vorstius as an anti-St. John, and dictated to their High Mightinesses of Holland that, in the case of such a heretic, they should not "bear the sword in vain." He ordered his works to be burned, and he inscribed a treatise against him, thus: "To the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternall Sonne of the eternall Father, to whom His most humble and most obliged servant, James, by the grace of God, king of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, doth dedicate and consecrate this his Declaration." His interest in the controversies raging in the Low Countries was so intense and personal that, in 1618, he sent Hall, Davenant, and Balcanquhal as representatives to the Synod of Dort, and loaded them with numerous charges as to their duties and aims.[1] But tolerance of divergent opinion was distasteful to him, and when his voluble logic and learning failed to convert Bartholomew Legget from Arianism, he sent him to be burnt at Smithfield, 18th March, 1611. And a month later, Edward Wightman, for a combination of heresies, was burnt in the market place of Lichfield—dark spots of fire and blood staining the year that witnessed the happy publication of the version which the royal humour had originated and patronized. It was a work after his own heart when, in 1623, he tried to enjoin certain topics for treatment in sermons, and to proscribe others, as Predestination, Election, Reprobation, and the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility and Irresistibility of God's grace. To this marvellous familiarity with Scripture,—a familiarity which grew with his growth, and became at length as distinctive of him as his

[1] Yet John Hales of Eton, "the ever memorable," who, as chaplain to Sir Dudley Carlton, ambassador at the Hague, attended the Synod of Dort, came back to England changed in his theology, being induced by what he heard and saw at the Dutch Assembly, to "bid John Calvin good night."

circular hobble[1] or his thickly quilted hose and doublet—are we largely, if not solely, indebted for our Authorized Version, which is dedicated "To the most high and mighty prince, James."

The people in England had been at some loss to conjecture what the ecclesiastical leanings of the expected sovereign might be. The Catholics hoped to get some relaxation of the penal laws from the son of her whom they idolized as a martyr. But he had written a hard, unfilial letter to his mother, refusing to accord her any present or prospective royal title, and his selfish love for his own interests had overpowered his anxieties about her life; for a few honeyed words and the present of some couples of English buckhounds, sealed his desertion of her cause, while she, in her turn, had cursed him, disinherited him, and bequeathed her kingdom to Philip of Spain. The Puritans had naturally some high anticipations, for in 1590 the king, "with bonnet off and hand lifted up to heaven," had said in Edinburgh to the General Assembly at its eighth session "that he thanked God for being born king in such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world—the kirk of Geneva keepe pasche and yuile; what have they for them? as for our neighbour kirk in England, it is an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity and to exhort the people to do the same, and I forsooth, so long as I bruik my life, shall maintain the same." He had also written to Elizabeth in favour of some of the stout Puritans who suffered under her reign. No wonder that Archbishop Whitgift, knowing the vacillation of the king, and though he must have read the Basilicon Doron published in 1599—had some terror of what he called "a Scottish mist" settling down on Canterbury. For the king, after his great change of opinion on church government, was, as might be expected from his temperament, visited with occasional qualms—the clouds threatened to return after the

[1] "When the king came to the chamber in Holyrood," where persons were waiting for him, "he walked in a circle round about the house, as his custom was. Mr. Robert (Bruce) casteth himself to meet him." Calderwood, History of the Church of Scotland, vol. VI, p. 218.

rain. When he had read Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*[1] he was observed to be somewhat pensive, and on one of his Episcopal courtiers telling him that they would answer it, he replied tartly—"What will you answer, man? There is nothing here but Scripture, reason, and the Fathers." There had also been previous fluctuations. Though the Convention of Leith, in 1572, had brought in the elements of Episcopacy, the National Covenant was subscribed by the king and his household in 1580, and the Second Book of Discipline, adopted in 1581, set out a full Presbyterian platform. But, by a reactionary process, Episcopacy was re-introduced—"bishops, abbots, and other prelates were authorized to sit and vote in Parliament"; and in 1610 the bishops got from the General Assembly meeting in Glasgow the right or power to ordain.[2] Such changes, in some of which the king was personally prominent as usual, could not but raise suspicious and anxious forecastings in England.

But the flatteries heaped upon James in England would have turned a stronger head. When at the Hampton Court Conference, he had said of the Puritans, "I will make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or yet do worse," one lord exclaimed that his majesty "spoke by the instinct of the spirit of God." His Grace of Canterbury, swallowing the "sugared bait," ascribed the royal words "to the special assistance of God's spirit," and Bancroft, on his knees, gave thanks to God for "the singular mercy of such a king, as since Christ the like, he thought, had not been seen." When Selden was challenged by the king for applying such phrases as "unlimited liberty" and "confident daring" to his exposition of some parts of the Apocalypse, the accomplished critic and scholar could, in replying, bring himself to speak of the royal interpretation as "the clearest sun among the lesser lights, and to call it a performance most divine and kingly." One may contrast Bacon's adulation[3]

[1] Calderwood was banished by the king for his stout defence of Presbytery, and during his six years' exile in Holland he composed the book referred to—its name being based on the statement made in 2 Ki. xvi, 10.

[2] Grubb's Ecclesiastical History, vol. II, p. 293.

[3] Works, vol. XII, p. 70, ed. Montague.

with the honest and pointed words of George Buchanan in his Dedication to his royal pupil of his "Baptistes." Yet there must have been no small amount of learning in the man who was so highly praised, not only by courtly churchmen like Bancroft, Williams, and Abbot, but by Bacon and Casaubon. The king's influence told even on Hugh Broughton, whose stiff knees were suppled in the royal presence.

There had been handed to the monarch, on his way through the "promised land" to London, the millenary petition—a petition signed by seven hundred and fifty clergymen of the Church of England "groaning under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies." These points were rather subordinate in character, especially as compared with these great principles which contending parties had fought for in Scotland with sacred fury. James was now in no danger of being confronted by a "beardless boy," or of being roughly held by the sleeve, defied and scolded to his face as "God's silly vassal"; nor was there any chance of a sermon being preached before him inveighing against the power or person that would bring in the "bludie gullie" of despotism. He ran no risk of being detained by force in any baronial mansion as he had been in his sixteenth year at the Castle of Ruthven when, bursting into tears at the insult, he had been saluted with the gruff utterance of the Master of Glamis, "Better bairns greet than bearded men." The question was not as between prelacy and presbytery, or between organized societies struggling for supremacy as for life, but between members and office-bearers of the same established church. Therefore, neither a council nor an assembly was convened to consider the millenary petition, but simply a Conference. A royal proclamation was issued on the 24th of October, "touching a meeting for hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the church." The day originally fixed was the first of November, but as the plague was raging at the time, there was a postponement for a few weeks. Though Parliament had not met and James had not been crowned, the meeting was ultimately held in the Drawing-room of Hampton Court Palace on Saturday, Monday, and Wednesday, the 14th,

16th, and 18th, of January 1604.[1] There came, as summoned, to the conference nine bishops—Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; Bancroft, Bishop of London; Matthew, of Durham; Bilson, of Winchester; Babington, of Worcester; Rudd, of St. David's; Watson, of Chichester; Robinson, of Carlisle; Dove, of Peterborough: Five deans—Montague, Dean of the Chapel Royal; Andrewes, of Westminster; Overall, of St. Paul's; Barlow of Chester; Bridges, of Salisbury; with King, Archdeacon of Nottingham; Field, afterwards Dean of Gloucester. There were also at the Conference some members of the Privy Council and five ecclesiastical lawyers, Sir Daniel Dunne, Sir Thomas Compton, Sir Richard Swale, Sir John Bennet, and Dr. Drury; Galloway, the king's Scottish chaplain (admitted by courtesy); Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Sparke, Prebendary of Lincoln; Chaderton and Knewstubbs, two Fellows and Divines from Cambridge. The last four, who appeared in "Turkey gowns," represented the plaintiffs or Puritan clergy. Reynolds,[2] who had been Dean of Lincoln, was perhaps the most learned divine of the period. He was not chosen in any way by his own party, but he obeyed the royal summons. His friends thought that he had not risen to the occasion, but the king snubbed him unceremoniously, or, as Harrington reports, "used with him upbraidings rather than arguments, . . . bad the petitioners awaie with their snivellings, &c."[3] Bancroft was as surly and rude to him as the king, who could, however, sometimes be playful. Reynolds had objected to the term "worship" in the Marriage Service, and the king merrily replied, "I'm thinking that if you had a gudewife yoursel, Doctor, you wouldna think any worship or reverence too much for her. Many a man speaks of Robin Hood who never shot in his bow." These persons were never all present on one day. The four "complaints" presented to the king referred to the church and its service, to its ministers and their living and maintenance,

[1] On October 21, 1603, there had been issued a royal proclamation forbidding all petitioning on religious questions.

[2] Sometimes, if not usually, given as Reinolds, occasionally as Raynolds or Rainolds.

[3] Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. II, p. 228.

and to discipline. Heylin remarks, "The complainants, however, sped no better in relation to the forms of worship, than they had done in reference unto points of doctrine. And somewhat also was observed touching some errors in the old translation of the English Psalter, as also in the Gospels and Epistles, as they stood in the liturgy. But their objections were so stale, and so often answered, that the bishops and conformable party went away with an easy victory."[1] Thus the object for which the meeting was ostensibly summoned failed, and another great opportunity was lost for healing and harmonizing the divisions in the English Church. The Bishop of London lost his temper very early in the discussion, and did not recover it again.[2] Bancroft, Barlow, and the king were apparently quite unqualified in tact and temper to interfere in so delicate an adjustment. But at the meeting on Monday, when other matters had been disposed of, a new translation of the Bible was abruptly proposed. There had been some conversation on a portion of the Apocryphal Books, "which was answered by the Bishops of London and Winchester, but more pointedly by his majesty himself[3] who, finding there had been great questioning amongst the lords at that place of Ecclesiasticus (xlviii, 10) with which, as if it had been their rest and upshot, they (who objected to it) began afresh; and seeing them so to urge it, and stand upon it, called for a Bible; first, showed the author of that book, who he was; then the cause why he wrote that book; next analysed the chapter itselfe; arguing and demonstrating that, whatsoever Ben Sirach had said there of Elias, Elias had, in his own person, while he lived, performed and accomplished: concluding, first, with a serious checke to Dr. Reinolds that it was not good to impose, upon a man that was dead, a sense never meant by him; secondly, with a pleasant apostrophe to the lords, 'What, trow ye, make these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? By my

[1] History of Presbyterianism, p. 373. Cartwright might probably, had he survived, been a member of the conference.

[2] Blunt's Plain Account, p. 74.

[3] Sum and substance of the conference . . . contracted by William Barlow, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Chester, London, 1604, reprinted in 1625 and 1638.

soule, I think he was a bishop or else they would never use him so!' But for the generall, it was appointed by his majesty, that Dr. Reinolds should note those chapters in the Apocrypha Booke, where those offensive places were, and should bring them unto the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury against Wednesday next." There was a good deal of by-play on the part of the king, to whom silence was impossible in such a scene, and he had never had so grand an opportunity. He had a lively recollection of some Scottish scenes, and when the Puritans hinted at district meetings for conference, the king cried—"No; then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and censure me and my government. . . . Stay, I pray you," he said to Dr. Reynolds, "for one seven years before you ask that of me, and if you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I may listen to you. . . . Scottish Presbytery agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil."

According to Dr. Barlow's account,[1] Dr. Reinolds, after speaking upon several subjects, moved his majesty, "that there might be a new translation of the Bible because those which were allowed in the reigne of King Henry the eight and Edward the sixt were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the originall. For example, first, Galat. iv, 25, the Greeke word συνστοιχεῖ is not well translated as it now is, 'bordereth' neyther expressing the force of the word, nor the Apostle's sense, nor the situation of the place. Secondly, Psal. cv, 28, 'they were not obedient'; the original being, 'they were not disobedient.' Thirdly, Psal. cvi, 30, 'Then stood up Phineas and prayed': the Hebrew hath 'executed judgment.' To which motion there was at the present no gainsaying, the objections being triviall, and old, and already in print, often answered; only my lord of London well added, that if every man's humor should be followed, there would be no end of translating. Whereupon his highness wished that some especiall paines should be taken in that behalfe for one uniform translation; professing that he could never yet see a Bible well trans-

[1] Reprinted also from the Harleian Miscellany in the Phœnix, vol. I, p. 139, London, 1707, and by Cardwell, History of Conferences, p. 167, 3d ed., Oxford, 1849.

lated in English, but the worst of all his majesty thought the Geneva to be; and this to be done by the best learned in both the universities, after them to be reviewed by the bishops and the chief learned of the church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole church to be bound unto it and none other. Marry withal he gave this caveat, upon a word cast out by my lord of London, that no marginal notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation, which he saw in a Bible given him by an English lady, some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits, supporting his opinion by the section of the first chapter of Exodus and the nineteenth verse, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience unto the king;[1] and 2 Chronicles xv, 16, the note taxeth Asa for deposing his mother only; and not killing her."

The account given by the translators themselves in their own preface differs in some respect from that of Dr. Barlow: "The very historical truth is, that upon the importunate petitions of the Puritans at his majesty's coming to this crown, the conference at Hampton Court having been appointed for hearing their complaints, when by force of reason they were put from all other grounds they had recourse at the last to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the communion-book, since it maintained the Bible as it was there translated, which was, as they said, a most corrupted translation. And although this was judged to be but a very poor and empty shift, yet even hereupon did his majesty begin to bethink himself of the good that might ensue by a new translation, and presently gave order for this translation which is now presented unto thee. This much to satisfy our scrupulous brethren." It is, however, chiefly to Dean Barlow's report that we owe our knowledge of what was said and done at the conference. Barlow wrote at the request of Whitgift, and refers in the preface to the "untimely death of him who first imposed it on me, with whom is buried the famousest glory of our English Church." As Reynolds com-

[1] But his own revisers, undeterred by the royal censure, prefix this Heading to Exodus ii, "the godliness of the midwives."

plained of the unfairness of Barlow's account, one is tempted to quote the characteristic remark of Fuller on this point—"when the Israelites go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own and a blunt one on their enemies' weapons."[1] Barlow does not profess a full report, for his words to the reader are—"The vigour of every objection with the sum of each answer, I guess, I miss not." Reports had been sent abroad, he tells us, "some partial, some untrue, some slanderous." But it will not be found in Barlow that the king spoke strongly against the corruptions of the church for five hours together, though Galloway's account implies that the bishops were alarmed by his language, and Bishop Andrewes is reported to have said that "on that day his majesty did wonderfully play the Puritan,"[2] the shrewd prelate apparently taking it to be only a histrionic display. The king himself wrote a vainglorious account of the conference to somebody in Scotland whom he calls "honest Blake," telling how he "had kept such a revel with the Puritans and peppered them soundly," adding some rather indecent expressions. In this letter he alludes to another person whom he calls the "Beagle." He was fond of giving nicknames, and he begins an epistle to Lord Cranbourne with "my dear little Beagle."[3]

Now, from these narratives, it is evident that defects in the current versions were not among the things complained of, and they had no place in the millenary petition. Nor had there been any agitation on the subject; no body felt aggrieved, and there had been no consultation and arrangement among the Puritan members. The proposal seems to have been a momentary thought on the part of Reynolds who spoke only for himself, if Barlow's account is to be credited; and if his party afterwards acquiesced in the proposal, their consent may have been based on the renderings in the prayer-book version of the Psalms, for

[1] Church History, vol. III, p. 193, London, 1837.

[2] Calderwood, History, vol. VI, p. 421.

[3] One brief account of some points "like to be brought up at the conference" may be seen in a letter of Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, and there is "an Account" by Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham—both printed in Cardwell's Conferences, p. 151, &c.

the discussion referred to it, and two of the instances adduced by Reynolds are from the psalter. The deliberations about a new revision, so suddenly introduced, seem to have occupied but a very brief period—a few minutes of the second day's conference—and as suddenly they closed. No one present dreamed that this light off-handed talk would produce the book which for more than two centuries and a half has been the cherished treasure of all the millions speaking the English tongue.

But there are also some assertions in these statements which cannot be accepted. The words put in the king's mouth in reference to the Genevan translation and notes "which he saw in a Bible given him by an English lady," are wholly incredible. The language implies that he had been till very recently a stranger to the Genevan version, and had only been brought into a brief and accidental acquaintance with it since his arrival in England. James was, indeed, one of those men who are consistent in inconsistency, and of whom very contradictory things may be believed; for the confidence with which he pronounced the Genevan version the worst which he had ever seen implies that he was really no stranger either to it or to other translations. Laud, on his trial, quotes this royal disparagement without any misgiving as to its accuracy. But if Barlow did not misunderstand the king on a point with which, as an English dignitary, he might not be very familiar, if James has not been in some way mis-reported, his virtual disclaimer of all knowledge up to a late period of the Genevan notes and version was simply a bold unblushing falsehood, a clumsy attempt to sever himself from his earlier Scottish beliefs and usages that he might win favour with his English churchmen. His affectation of ignorance could scarcely impose on some of his audience. For from his boyhood he had known no other Bible. It had been read to him often till he must have been very weary, and he had often been made to read it in terror of mispronouncing any words in it. It had been set before him as punctually as his daily meals, and it had been scourged into him by his stern pedagogues: the texts of all the sermons he had ever listened to were selected out of it, and the long discourses under which he had yawned and shut his eyes were

thickly garnished with quotations taken from it.[1] It had been printed in his own kingdom and dedicated to him in 1576-79, the dedication solemnly warning him "to remember diligently how the setting forth and authorizing of this book pertains to his charge." The divines, both Prelatic and Presbyterian, among whom he mingled and with whom he often contended, cited the Genevan version with great profusion. Nay, more, he had himself published some expositions of Scripture before he came up to England, and he uses without disguise the Genevan version, as in his Meditation on 2 Chron. xv, 25, and on Rev. xx, 25, 29. Even in the collected edition of his works, edited by the Bishop of Winchester in 1616, the text of these treatises has not been conformed to the Authorized Version, though the royal Scotch has been turned into English. Other pieces in the same volume—"Meditation on the Lord's Prayer"—"a Paterne for a king's inauguration" (1617), follow the present translation. Some of his prelates might have told him that the obnoxious note attached to Exodus i, 19, of which he complained, was to be found in their own Bishops' Bible[2] in a briefer form—"it was better to obey God than man," and that the note to 2 Chron. xv, 16, occurs also in several editions of the same version. He might have been further informed that the note to Romans xiii, and especially to Titus iii, 1, in the disparaged translation might satisfy even a Stewart in its inculcation of obedience and loyalty, and in its investiture of the civil magistrate with the sword of persecution, for it declares that as his "office is to maintain God's glorie in His church, he ought to cut off all such rotten and infectuous members from the bodie." Besides, in the three passages put forward by Dr. Reynolds as arguments for a revision, the Genevan version is correct. Whatever might be the extent of the king's knowledge of the Genevan Bible, he had

[1] The person of the prince was at length deemed too sacred for the unsparing application of the birch, and a substitute was procured to bear the penalties—the writhing and howling of the "whipping boy" being meant to appal the heart of the royal pupil.

[2] There is no note in the editions of 1568, 1572, 1575, or 1578, but the Genevan note occurs in the editions of 1573, 1585, and 1602.

a genuine horror of some of its notes. In the account of the conference given by Galloway, his Scottish chaplain, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh—an account revised by the king himself—he says "Sundry, as they favoured, gave out copies of things here concluded, whereupon myself took occasion, as I was an ear and eye witness, to set them down, and presented them to his majesty, who with his own hand mended some things, and eked other things which I had omitted: which corrected copy with his own hand I have, and of it have sent you herein the just transumpt word by word." Then we find the following as the second of the articles, "On the heads which his majesty would have reformed at this time." ". . . That a translation be made of the whole Bible, as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek; and this to be set out and printed without any marginal notes, and only to be used in all churches of England in time of divine service. London, this 10th Februar, 1604."

Few of the clergy assembled had any reputation as Biblical scholars, and the majority of the bishops present at the meeting were not even employed as translators. Such a "comitial conference" was neither qualified nor prepared to entertain and discuss the momentous question; but debate was needless, for the king assented to the proposal of Reynolds, and thus was originated the present version. The clergy had no desire for a new translation, or indeed for any changes. But the king had a morbid liking for such subjects, and he at once took up the project as far as his nature could earnestly occupy itself with a single pursuit. Biblical lore and theological subjects had, as we have said, a special interest for him, and it may be affirmed that his Biblical erudition, and his irrepressible desire to show it on all possible occasions, saved the proposal of Reynolds from falling into the same tomb as did all the other topics of conference. Bancroft spoke truly, when he afterwards said, "I am persuaded his royal mind rejoiceth more in the good hope which he hath for the happy success of that work, than of his peace concluded with Spain."

Some months had passed after the conference; Parliament and Convocation had met, and nothing more was said of the

new translation. But the project of a new translation had not been allowed to drop.

The king could have little personal knowledge of English scholars; but a careful selection of them was made by some unknown, but very competent authority. In the preface, Bancroft is virtually connected with the nomination, for it is said of him, "to whom not only we, but our whole church was much bound. He knew by his wisdom, that it is a preposterous order to teach first, and to learn after; yea, that to learn and practice together is neither commendable for the workman, nor safe for the work.' Therefore, such were thought upon as could modestly say with St. Hierome, 'but we have learned the Hebrew tongue in part, and in the Latin we have been exercised almost from our very cradle.'" The names of the persons chosen were presented for the royal approbation, and by the 30th of June, Bancroft wrote to the translators at Cambridge, that it was the king's pleasure that they should with all possible speed meet together in their university, and begin the work. On the 22nd of July, the king wrote to Bancroft, then representing the See of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Whitgift, announcing that he had appointed certain learned men, to the number of four-and-fifty, for the translating of the Bible, and requiring him to take measures whereby he might be able to recompense the translators by church preferment. "Furthermore, we require you to move all our bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as having special skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken pains in their private studies of the Scriptures, for the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistaking in the former English translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended; and thereupon, to write unto them, earnestly charging them, and signifying our pleasure therein, that they send such their observations either to Mr. Lively our Hebrew reader in Oxford, or to Dr. Andrewes, Dean of Westminster, to be imparted to the rest of their several companies; that so our said intended translation may have the help and furtherance

of all our principal learned men within this our kingdom." Bancroft wrote again to the Bishop of Norwich as follows: "There are many, as your lordship perceiveth, who are to be employed in this translation of the Bible, and sundry of them must of necessity have their charges borne; which his majesty was very ready, of his most princely disposition, to have borne, but some of my lords, as things now go, did hold it inconvenient. Whereupon it was left to me, to move all my brethren, the bishops, and likewise every several dean and chapter, to contribute to this work. According, therefore, to my duty, I heartily pray your lordship, not only to think yourself what is meet for you to give for this purpose, but likewise, to acquaint your dean and chapter, not only with the said clause in his majesty's letter, but likewise with the meaning of it, that they may agree on such a sum as they mean to contribute. I do not think that a thousand marks will finish the work to be employed as aforesaid. Whereof your lordship, with your dean and chapter, having due consideration, I must require you, in his majesty's name, according to his good pleasure, in that behalf, that as soon as possibly you can send me word what shall be expected from you, and your said dean and chapter. For I am to acquaint his majesty with every man's liberality towards this most godly work. From Fulham, this 31st of July, 1604." Bancroft makes another explanation, "After my hearty commendations unto your lordship, I have received letters from his most excellent majesty, the tenor whereof followeth. 'Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed certain learned men, to the number of four-and-fifty, for the translating of the Bible, and that in this number divers of them have either no ecclesiastical preferment at all, or else so very small, as the same is far unmeet for men of their deserts, and yet, we of ourself in any convenient time cannot well remedy it: therefore we do hereby require you, that presently you write, in our name, as well to the Archbishop of York, as to the rest of the bishops of the province of Canterbury, signifying unto them that we do will, and straitly charge every one of them, as also the other bishops

of the province of York, as they tender our good favour towards them, that (all excuses set apart) when any prebend or parsonage being rated in our book of taxations, the prebend to twenty pounds at least, and the parsonage to the like sum and upwards, shall next upon any occasion happen to be void, and to be either of their patronage, or of the patronage and gift of any person what ever, they do make stay thereof, and admit none unto it, until certifying us of the avoidance of it, and of the name of the patron, if it be not of their own gift, that we may commend for the same some such of the learned men, as we shall think fit to be preferred unto it; not doubting of the bishops' readiness to satisfy us herein, or that any of the laity, when we shall in time move them to so good and religious an act, will be unwilling to give us the like due contentment and satisfaction; we ourselves having taken the same order for such prebends and benefices as shall be void in our gift.'" And he naively adds—"Your Lordship may see how careful his majesty is for the providing of livings for these learned men. I doubt not, therefore, but your Lordship will have a due regard of his majesty's request herein, as it is fit and meet; and that you will take such order, both with your Chancellor, Register, and such of your Lordship's officers who shall have intelligence of the premises, as also with the Dean and Chapter of your Cathedral Church, whom his majesty likewise requireth to be put in mind of his pleasure herein; not forgetting the latter part of his majesty's letter, touching the informing yourself of the fittest linguists, &c. I could wish your Lordship would, for my discharge, return me in some few lines the time of the receipt of these letters, that I may discharge that duty which his majesty, by these his letters, hath laid upon me. And so I bid your Lordship right heartily farewell. From Fulham this xxxi day of July, 1604—R. LONDON." The royal words about remuneration are very kind and considerate, still they were but words. The disbursements were not made from the royal purse—for it was empty, and Cecil had already complained that the monarch's household expenses were double those of his predecessors, £100,000 instead of £50,000. James had been always warring with poverty in

Scotland, and he at once leapt into extraordinary prodigality in England.[1] The proposed plan of ecclesiastical preferments cost nothing to his majesty, who sank so low as to sell ninety-three baronetcies for £1000 each, and to grant several peerages for a handsome price. Printers and publishers were aware of the royal impecuniosity, and were very cautious in dealing with the royal "bookmaker." Lydiat, in a letter of 22nd August, 1611, tells Ussher, that Norton swore to him that he would not print the king's Latin book against Vorstius, "unless he might have the money"—unless he had the payment before the treatise went to press. When a library was to be furnished for Prince Henry, Bancroft sent out a begging circular asking books or money from the bishops, and the "abler sort of double beneficed men," and "the richer sort of commissaries," it being also dictated that some should give twenty marks, some £10, and the least twenty nobles. But the plan proposed for remunerating the translators, though it menaced the king's personal inspection of the contributors, did not succeed; neither bishop nor dean replied, so far as is known. The sum, according to Bancroft's calculation, was not large, only a thousand marks or about £700, so that the proportion from each diocese was really little.

Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, chancellor of the University of Cambridge, wrote also a sensible letter to the vice-chancellor and heads, asking that any poor scholar from the country be entertained "in any college they make choice of, free of charge for their entrance, their chambers, or their commons." But very few people had any great interest in the work. They were quite satisfied with the two current versions, as was also

[1] Soon after his accession to the throne of England, a proclamation was issued, forbidding his northern subjects to come as suitors for payment of "auld debts due to them by the king, . . . which is of all kinds of importunity most unpleasing to his majesty." In 1610, his debts were half a million, and his ordinary expenditure exceeded his income by £81,000 a year. He invented the order of baronet, and sold many baronetcies. Of the ninety lay peers in the House of Lords at his death, nearly a half were the result of pecuniary bargaining. He held firmly by the wardship of heirs and heiresses, and made money by this old feudal right.

amply shown in the slow reception of the one which was now in preparation. Indeed, the next Convocation, ignoring the purpose of a new Bible, or doubting if it would be carried out, ordered in its eighty-first article that every parish unfurnished with a Bible of the largest volume,[1] should at once provide the same. Still, according to the chancellor's suggestion, the translators assembled at the Universities had entertainment free of charge, "eating their commons"[2] at the college table,[2] and at the final revision the six or twelve revisers received each, according to one statement, thirty shillings a week from the Company of Stationers, "though before they had nothing but the self-rewarding ingenious industry." King James's version never cost King James a farthing. Robert Barker had indeed, as royal printer, a salary from the king of £6, 13s. 4d.; but he had also, in consideration of £300 paid to the crown, a grant of the manor of Upton, near Windsor, for twenty-two years, for the small rent of £20, to be doubled two years afterward.[3] The argument, therefore, is not based on fact, that the crown may grant the sole printing of the English translation, because it was made at the king's charge. Yet Lord Mansfield said, against all proof, "The English translation the king bought, therefore it has been concluded to be his property. His whole right rests on the foundation of property in the copy, by the common law."[4]

Some mystery yet hangs over the number of translators appointed, as the king mentions fifty-four, while only forty-seven took part in the work. In the interval there were some changes. Mr. Lively having died in 1605, his place was filled by Dr. Spalding; Dr. Richard Eades died in 1604;

[1] Amplissimi voluminis.

[2] John Bois or Boyes, whose notes of the proceedings have unfortunately fallen out of existence, at least out of view, "ate his commons" first at one college table, and then at another. — Walker's Life of Bois, Harleian MSS. Communications must have been sent to Oxford similar to those sent to Cambridge, though they do not seem to have been preserved.

[3] The salary of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench was then £224, 19s. 6d. a year.

[4] Lee's Memorial, p. 216. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. II, p. 410, London, 1809.

Dr. Aglionby, appointed in his room, died in February, 1610, and Mr. Dakins died in February, 1607. The proposer, Dr. Reynolds, died in May, 1607, and Dr. Thomas Ravis, bishop of London, died in 1609, and there may have been some resignations and substitutions. Dr. Leonard Hutton was appointed for Dr. Ravens, whose place had been vacated. The preparations seem to have been completed by the end of 1604; but the work was not formally taken in hand by all the companies till about 1607. The translators themselves intimate that their work occupied them "about two years and three quarters." They were divided into six companies, two of which met at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge.[1]

"The following is an account of the places and persons agreed upon for the Hebrew Scriptures, with the particular books by them undertaken: Pentateuchon; the story from Joshua to the first book of Chronicles, exclusive, to the company at Westminster, consisting of Mr. Dean of Westminster, Mr. Dean of Paul's, Mr. Dr. Saravia, Mr. Dr. Clark, Mr. Dr. Leifield, Mr. Dr. Teigh, Mr. Burleigh, Mr. King, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Beadwell. From the first of the Chronicles with the rest of the story and the Hagiography; videlicet, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, to the company at Cambridge, consisting of Mr. Lively, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Chatterton, Mr. Dillingham, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Andrewes, Mr. Spalding, Mr. Binge. The four or greater prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser prophets, to the company at Oxford, consisting of Dr. Harding, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Holland, Dr. Kilbye, Mr. Smith, Mr. Brett, Mr. Fairclough. The prayer of Manasse, and the rest of the Apocrypha, to the company at Cambridge, consisting of Dr. Duport, Dr. Branthwait, Dr. Radcliffe, Mr. Ward, Mr. Downes, Mr. Boyes, Mr. Ward.

"The places and persons agreed upon for the Greek, with the particular books by them undertaken:—The four Gospels, Acts of Apostles, Apocalypse, to the company at Oxford, consisting of Mr. Dean of Christ Church, Mr. Dean of Winchester, Mr. Dean of Worcester, Mr. Dean of Windsor, Mr. Savile, Dr. Perne, Dr. Ravens, Mr. Harmer. The epistles of St. Paul, to

[1] Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. II, p. 106.

the company at Westminster, consisting of Dean of Chester, Dr. Hutchison, Dr. Spencer, Mr. Fenton, Mr. Rabbett, Mr. Sanderson, Mr. Dakins."[1]

Many of the men employed in this noble enterprise were famous for their ability and learning. Andrewes, "a right Godly man," was "a prodigious student," "a great gulph of learning," and might have been "interpreter general at Babel." "The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was."[2] His Manual of Private Direction was composed in Greek. He sent Beadwell to Leyden, to study Arabic, and promised to defray the expense of printing his Thesaurus Arabicus. Casaubon writes to Heinsius, "I am attracted to the man by his profound learning," "one of a few whose society enables me to bear my separation from De Thou." Andrewes was in great favour with the king at this time, on account of his "Tortura Torti"—his clever and telling reply to Bellarmine, published in 1609, when he was bishop of Chichester. Overall is styled by Camden, "a prodigious learned man," possessed, as Fuller says, "of a strong brain to improve his great reading," "a man learned all round," and Casaubon who had enjoyed his hospitality, styles him *vir longe doctissimus*.[3] Hadrian Saravia, prebendary of Canterbury, born at Hedin in Artois, his father being a Spaniard, and his mother a Belgian, was a D.D. of Leyden, and was educated, according to Wood, in all kinds of literature, especially "in several languages," and was noted for his Hebrew learning. Tighe or Teigh was an "excellent textuary and profound linguist." King succeeded Spalding as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge. Thompson, born in Holland, of English parents, and, by report, a most admirable philologer, though desultory in his studies, belonged to Clare Hall, Cambridge. "Dutch Thomson," as he was familiarly called at Cambridge, supplied suggestions to his friend Casaubon for an edition of Suetonius and Polybius,[4] and was a familiar correspondent of Scaliger

[1] The list was taken by Cardwell from Burnet's History, vol. II, Append., p. 366, who copied it from the papers of Bishop Ravis.

[2] Pattison's Life of Casaubon, p. 330.

[3] Ibid, p. 391.

[4] Ibid, p. 333.

and other scholars, who set a high value on his critical suggestions. Beadwell, or Bedwell, was the great Arabic scholar of his time, the friend of Erpenius and tutor of Pococke. His MSS. of a prepared Arabic Lexicon were used in the preparation of Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton. Edward Lively was "one of the best linguists in the world," and, according to Dr. Pusey, was, next to Pococke, "the greatest of Hebraists." Richardson, Professor of Divinity, was "a most excellent linguist." Chaderton, or Chatterton, "grave, godly, learned, familiar with the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and the numerous writings of the Rabbis," was one of the four Puritan divines that took part in the Hampton Court Conference. He was the first head of Emmanuel College, and lived to a very great age. Dillingham was called "the great Grecian." Harrison had "exquisite skill in Hebrew and Greek idioms," and was one of the chief examiners in the University. Spalding was reckoned worthy to succeed Lively as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and Byng was a successor of Spalding in the Hebrew chair. Harding was Regius Professor of Hebrew. Reynolds was president of Corpus Christi College, and in Bishop Hall's words, "his memory and reading were near to a miracle, for he was himself a well furnished library, full of all faculties, all studies, and all learning," and though, according to Wood, he was the pillar of Puritanism, yet he calls him "the very treasury of erudition, as being most prodigiously seen in all kinds of learning, most excellent in all tongues." Holland, King's Professor of Divinity, and Rector of his College, is declared to be "a most learned divine." Kilbye, who preached his funeral sermon, said of him that he had "a wonderful knowledge of all the learned languages," and was mighty in the Scriptures, while, according to Wood, he was "another Apollos, a most learned divine." Kilbye himself was Professor of Hebrew, and Rector of his College, and left a commentary on Exodus, chiefly drawn from rabbinical sources. He also continued, though he did not publish, Jean Mercier's commentaries on Genesis. He was ever absorbed in Hebrew study, and Casaubon saw at his lodging the Lexicon Arabicum of Raphelengius, the only other copy in the country being that in possession of the Bishop of

Ely. Izaak Walton, in his life of Sanderson, tells the following story of Kilbye: "I must here stop my reader, and tell him that this Dr. Kilby was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible; and that this doctor and Mr. Sanderson had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderson to bear him company; and they, resting on a Sunday with the doctor's friend, and going together to that parish church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilby), and showed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When evening prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to the doctor's friend's house, where, after some other conference, the doctor told him, he might have preached more useful doctrine, and not have filled his auditors' ears with needless exceptions against the late translation; and for that word for which he offered to that poor congregation three reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all of them, and found thirteen more considerable reasons why it was translated as now printed; and told him, 'If his friend' (then attending him) 'should prove guilty of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his favor.' To which Mr. Sanderson said, 'He hoped he should not.' And the preacher was so ingenuous as to say, he would not justify himself. And so I return to Oxford." Miles Smith, one of the translators, then one of the supervisors, final examiner and editor along with Bilson, and author of the preface, was an uncommon scholar, and "had Hebrew at his finger ends," and was "well versed in patristic writings and rabbinical glosses." Richard Brett was "skilled and versed to a criticism in the Latin, Greek, Chaldee, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongues." Thomas Ravis, the president of his company had a high reputation, for he was Dean of Christ

Church, and vice-chancellor of the University. George Abbot is described by Wood as "a learned man, having his learning all of the old stamp." Abbot enjoyed at this time the full lustre of the royal countenance, for he had written a defence of the truth of the Gowrie conspiracy. George Sprott, a notary at Eyemouth, had been executed for his connection with it; and Abbot, who had been present at the trial and execution, published an account of them, with the notes of Sir William Hart, the presiding judge. In concert with the Earl of Dunbar, he had gratified the heart's desire of the king, by helping to set up the luckless Stewart Episcopacy in Scotland, so that when Canterbury became vacant, he was promoted over the head of Andrewes and made Archbishop. Giles Tomson "took a great deal of pains of translating." John Aglionby, appointed in room of Richard Eades, was "accomplished in learning, and an exact linguist." John Harmer was a "most noted Latinist, Grecian, and divine." William Barlow, a member of the Hampton Court Conference, and its historian, is said to have been "a thorough bred scholar." John Spencer, the intimate friend of Hooker, succeeded Reynolds as president of Corpus Christi College. Roger Fenton's eulogist, Bishop Felton, says of him, "Never a more learned man hath Pembroke Hall, with but one exception," probably Bishop Andrewes. William Dakins was Greek lecturer at Cambridge, and "had great skill in the original languages." Of the company to which was intrusted the Apocrypha, John Duport was four times elected vice-chancellor of his University, and left a "well earned reputation." William Branthwait was master of Gonville and Caius College. Jeremiah Redcliffe was made a doctor of divinity, both at Cambridge and Oxford. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College, and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, was "skilled in tongues, though slow of speech," and was a valued correspondent of Archbishop Ussher, on points of Oriental and Biblical criticism. Andrew Downes, one of the revising committee, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, is highly praised by Selden, and is described as "one composed of Greek and industry." Casaubon and he cor-

responded in Greek, and his letters in point of style are not inferior to those of the great foreign scholar.[1] John Bois, prebendary of Ely, was a favourite pupil of Professor Downes, and "a precocious Greek and Hebrew scholar." After the Apocrypha was finished, he joined, at their own earnest request, the Cambridge company, which had their assigned section from Chronicles to Canticles, and he was one of the delegates engaged in the final supervision; Sir Henry Savile calls him "most ingenious and most learned," and, according to another eulogist, he was "second to none in solid attainments in the Greek tongue." Thomas Bilson, who, along with Miles Smith, had final charge of the translation, and prepared the summary of contents at the head of each chapter, was Bishop of Winchester, and was "well skilled in languages." Henry Savile was Warden of Merton College, Oxford, Provost of Eton, and editor of the works of Chrysostom. Of Michael Rabbet little is known, save that he was Rector of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, London. Burleigh, Clarke, Leifield, Sanderson, Tighe, King, Roger Andrewes are in similar obscurity.[2] The list of revisers was a good one, but men like Gataker and Selden had no place in it.

The king had intimated, at the outset, that his revisers might be compensated by ecclesiastical preferments, and during the work, or soon after 1611, the following preferments were made: Andrewes, Dean of Westminster, became Bishop of Chichester in 1605, of Ely 1609, and of Winchester in 1619; Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, became Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1614, and of Norwich in 1618; Saravia, Canon of Westminster, became Prebendary of Gloucester and Canterbury; Roger Andrewes, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, became Prebendary of Chichester; Byng, Fellow of St. Peter's College, became in 1606 Sub-Dean of York, and in 1618 Archdeacon of Norwich; Miles Smith, Canon of Hereford, became Bishop of Gloucester in 1612; Ravis, Dean of Christ Church, was in 1605

[1] The letters of Downes are preserved in the British Museum, Burney MSS. 364, and five of Casaubon's are in his Epistolae, &c. Roterodami, Fritsch and Böhn, 1709.

[2] The names vary much in spelling.

presented to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, and in 1607 to that of London; Abbot, Dean of Winchester, became Bishop of Leichfield and Coventry in 1609, and of London in 1610, and was preferred to the Chair of Canterbury in 1611; Giles Tomson became in 1611 Bishop of Gloucester, but died the next year; Barlow,[1] Dean of Chester, became Bishop of Rochester in 1605, and of Lincoln in 1608; Spencer received a prebendal stall in St. Paul's, London, in 1612; Fenton, Minister of St. Stephen's Walbrook received the prebend of Pancras in St. Paul's; Duport became, in 1609, Prebendary of Ely; Samuel Ward received several preferments; John Bois became Prebendary of Ely, in 1615; Henry Savile was knighted.

The following were the directions given for the revision:—1. "The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit." 2. "The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained as nigh as may be—accordingly as they were vulgarly used." 3. "The old ecclesiastical words to be kept—viz., the word church not to be translated congregation,[2] &c." 4. "When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith." 5. "The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all or as little as may be if necessity so require." 6. "No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text." 7. "Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another." 8. "Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand." 9. "As any one company hath dispatched

[1] According to Le Neve's Fasti, Barlow became Dean of Chester in June, 1602.

[2] This rule is referred to in their Preface.

any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for his majesty is very careful in this point." 10. "If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof, note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work." 11. "When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgment of such a place." 12. "Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford." 13. "The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place and the king's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either University." 14. "These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitechurch's, Geneva."

The following was a kind of byelaw: "Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified." This last precept seems to have originated in some doubts which had apparently risen at Cambridge about the meaning or application of the third and fourth rules, when an appeal was made to Bancroft, who replied to the Vice-Chancellor in these terms: "To be suer, if he had not signified so much unto them already, it was his Majestie's pleasure, that, besides the learned persons imployed with them for the Hebrewe and Greeke, there should be three or four of the most eminent and grave divines of their university, assigned by the Vice-Chancellour

upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the rules appointed by his Highness, and especially concerning the *third* and *fourth* rule: and that when they had agreed uppon the persons for this purpose, he prayed them to send him word thereof."[1]

These scholars are usually called Translators, and they appropriate the name to themselves in their Dedication to King James. But it is to be borne in mind that the first rule set before them shows that in the stricter sense they were simply revisers of the Bishops' Bible, itself a revision of the Great Bible, and it again a revision of Matthew's Bible—that is, of Tyndale and Coverdale. In one of the letters already quoted, the king briefly alludes to the work as concerned with "the former English translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended." Their work is also described by themselves "as a translation so long in hand, or rather perusal of translations made before." Wee might justly feare hard censure, if generally we should make verball and unnecessary changings"—that is, specially upon the Bishops' version. ". . . But it is high time to shew in briefe what wee proposed to our selues, and what course we held in this perusall and suruay of the Bible. Truly (good Christian reader) we never thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our endeavour, that our marke." And Gell's words are,[2] "Yet is not all the blame to be laid upon the translators, but part of it is to be shared with them also who set them at work, who by reasons of state limited them (as some of them have much complained) lest they might be thought, not to set forth a new

[1] In the "Brief Account" prefixed to Bagster's Hexapla it is said that Burnet received the rules from Dr. Ravis, one of the translators. This could scarcely be, for Bishop Ravis died in 1609, and Burnet was not born till 1643.

[2] Essay toward the amendment of the late English translation of the Bible; Preface, p. 29. London, 1659.

translation, but rather a new Bible." Nay more, in justifying the value and necessity of their labours, they vindicate at the same time the principle of revision. "Many men's mouths have bene open a good while (and yet are not stopped), ... and aske what may be the reason, what the necessitie of the employment. Hath the church bene deceiued, say they, all this while? Hath her sweet bread bene mingled with leauen, her silver with drosse, her wine with water, her milke with lime? Was their translation good before? Why do they now mend it? Was it not good? Why then was it obtruded to the people? Wee are so farre off from condemning any of their labours that traueiled before us in this kinde, either in this land or beyond sea, either in King Henrie's time, or King Edward's (if there were any translation or correction of a translation in his time), or Queen Elizabeth's of ever-renowned memorie, that we acknowledge them to haue beene raised vp of God, for the building and furnishing of His church, and that they deserue to be had of vs and of posteritie in euerlasting remembrance. Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured be their name, that breake the yce, and giue the onset vpon that which helpeth forward the sauing of soules. Now, what can bee more auaileable thereto, then to deliuer Gods book vnto Gods people in a tongue which they vnderstand?"

And they apologize for their own careful revision and re-revision: "Nothing is begun and perfited at the same time, and the later thoughts are thought to be the wiser: so, if we building vpon their foundation that went before vs, and being holpen by their labours, doe endauour to make that better which they left so good; no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike vs; they, we perswade our selues, if they were aliue, would thanke vs. . . . For by this meanes it commeth to passe, that whatsoever is sound alreadie (and all is sound for substance, in one or other of our editions, and the worst of ours farre better then their authentike vulgar) the same will shine as gold more brightly, being rubbed and polished; also, if any thing be halting, or superfluous, or not so agreeable to the originall, the same may bee corrected, and the trueth set in place. . . . Yet before we end, we must answer a third cauill and obiection

of theirs against vs, for altering and amending our Translations so oft; whereein truely they deale hardly, and strangely with vs. For to whom euer it was imputed for a fault (by such as were wise) to goe ouer that which hee had done, and to amend it wher hee saw cause? Saint *Augustine* was not afraide to exhort S. *Hierome* to a *Palinodia* or recantation; the same S. *Augustine* was not ashamed to retractate, we might say reuoke, many things that had passed him, and doth euen glory that he seeth his infirmities. If we will be sonnes of the Trueth, we must consider what it speaketh, and trample vpon our owne credit, yea and vpon other mens too, if either be any way an hinderance to it. This to the cause: then to the persons we say, that of all men they ought to bee most silent in this case.[1] For what varieties haue they, and what alterations haue they made, not onely of their Seruice bookes, Portesses and Breuiaries, but also of their *Latine* Translation? The Seruice book supposed to be made by S. *Ambrose* (*Officium Ambrosianum*) was a great while in speciall vse and request: but Pope *Hadrian* calling a Councill with the ayde of *Charles* the Emperour, abolished it, yea, burnt it, and commanded the Seruice-booke of Saint *Gregorie* vniuersally to be used. Well *Officium Gregorianum* gets by this menes to be in credit, but doeth continue without change or altering? No, the very *Romane* Seruice was of two fashions, the New fashion, and the Old (the one vsed in one Church, the other in another), as is to bee seene in *Pamelius*, a Romanist, his Preface, before *Micrologus*. The same *Pamelius* reporteth out of *Radulphus de Riuo*, that about the yeere of our Lord, 1277, Pope *Nicolas* the third remoued out of the Churches of *Rome*, the more ancient bookes (of Seruice) and brought into vse the Missals of the Friers Minorites, and commaunded them to bee obserued there; insomuch that about an hundred yeeres after, when the aboue named *Radulphus* happened to be at *Rome*, he found all the bookes to be new (of the new stampe). Neither was there this chopping and changing in the more ancient times onely, but also of late: *Pius Quintus* himselfe confesseth, that euery Bishopricke almost had a peculiar kind

[1] The Catholics are referred to.

of seruice, most vnlike to that which others had: which moued him to abolish all other Breuiaries, though neuer so ancient, and priuiledged and published by Bishops in their Diocesses, and to establish and ratifie that onely which was of his owne setting foorth, in the yeere 1568. Now, when the father of their Church, who gladly would heale the soare of the daughter of his people softly and sleightly, and make the best of it, findeth so great fault with them for their oddes and iarring; we hope the children haue no great cause to vaunt of their vniformitie. But the difference that appeareth betweene our Translations, and our often correcting of them, is the thing that wee are specially charged with; let us see therefore whether they themselues bee without fault this way (if it be to be counted a fault to correct), and whether they bee fit men to throw stones at us." "Neither did we run ouer the worke with that posting haste that the *Septuagint* did, if that be true which is reported of them, that they finished it in 72 dayes; the worke hath not bene hudled vp in 72 dayes, but hath cost the workemen, as light as it seemeth, the paines of twise seuen times seuentie two dayes and more: matters of such weight and consequence are to bee speeded with maturitie: for in a businesse of moment a man feareth not the blame of conuenient slacknesse." Those words, somewhat rhetorically used, are perhaps not to be taken with numerical exactness, at least John Bois is said to have "spent four years in this service."

They thus set a high value on translations of Scripture, and could not forget that Tyndale, Rogers, and Cranmer had been martyrs. Not only did they hold the earlier translators in grateful veneration, but they reckoned a translation of the Bible to be a work of necessity, and of lasting spiritual benefit. In utter contrast to the cold and niggardly views of the Rhemish versionists, who grudged, hesitated, and trembled to give an English Bible to their own people, they exult in the open unsealing and free dispersion of the inspired records:—

"But how shall men meditate in that which they cannot vnderstand? How shall they vnderstand that which is kept close in an vnknowen tongue? as it is written, *Except I know the power of the voyce, I shall be to him that speaketh, a Bar-*

barian, and he that speaketh, shalbe a Barbarian to me. The Apostle excepteth no tongue; not Hebrewe the ancientest, not Greeke the most copious, not Latine the finest. Nature taught a naturall man to confesse, that all of vs in those tongues which wee doe not vnderstand, are plainely deafe; wee may turne the deafe eare vnto them. The *Scythian* counted the *Athenian,* whom he did not vnderstand, barbarous: so the *Romane* did the *Syrian,* and the *Iew,* (euen S. *Hierome* himself calleth the Hebrew tongue barbarous, belike because it was strange to so many) so the Emperour of *Constantinople* calleth the *Latine* tongue, barbarous, though Pope *Nicolas* do storme at it: so the *Iewes,* long before *Christ,* called all other nations, *Logmazim,* which is little better than barbarous. Therefore, as one complaineth, that alwayes in the Senate of *Rome,* there was one or other that called for an interpreter: so lest the Church be driuen to the like exigent, it is necessary to haue translations in a readinesse. Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtaine, that we may look into the most Holy place; that remooueth the couer of the well, by which meanes the flockes of *Laban* were watered. Indeede without translation into the vulgar tongue, the vnlearned are but like children at *Iacobs* well (which was deepe) without a bucket, or some thing to draw with: or as that person mentioned by *Esay,* to whom when a sealed booke was deliuered, with this motion, *Reade this, I pray thee,* hee was faine to make this answere, *I cannot, for it is sealed.*

"While God would be knowen onely in *Jacob,* and haue his Name great in *Israel,* and in none other place, while the dew lay on *Gideons* fleece onely, and all the earth besides was drie; then for one and the same people, which spake all of them the language of *Canaan,* that is, *Hebrewe,* one and the same originall in *Hebrew* was sufficient. But when the fulnesse of time draw neere, that the Sunne of righteousnesse, the Sonne of God should come into the world, whom God ordeined to be a reconciliation through faith in his blood, not of the *Iew* onely, but also of the *Greeke,* yea, of all them that were scat-

tered abroad; then loe, it pleased the Lord to stirre vp the spirit of a *Greeke* Prince (*Greeke* for descent and language), euen of *Ptoleme Philadelph*, King of Egypt, to procure the translating of the Booke of God out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*. This is the translation of the *Seuentie* Interpreters, commonly so called, which prepared the way for our Sauiour among the Gentiles by written preaching, as Saint *Iohn* Baptist did among the *Iewes* by vocall. For the *Grecians* being desirous of learning, were not wont to suffer bookes of worth to lye moulding in Kings Libraries, but had many of their seruants, ready scribes, to copie them out, and so they were dispersed and made common. Againe, the *Greeke* tongue was well knowen, and made familiar to most inhabitants in *Asia*, by reason of the conquest that there the *Grecians* had made, as also by the Colonies, which thither they had sent. For the same causes also it was well vnderstood in many places of *Europe*, yea, and of *Affrike* too. Therefore the word of God being set foorth in *Greek*, becommeth hereby like a candle set vpon a candlesticke, which giueth light to all that are in the house, or like a proclamation sounded foorth in the market place, which most men presently take knowledge of; and therefore that language was fittest to containe the Scriptures, both for the first Preachers of the Gospel to appeale vnto for witnesse, and for the learners also of those times to make search and triall by. It is certaine, that that Translation was not so sound and so perfect, but that it needed in many places correction; and who had bene so sufficient for this worke as the Apostles or Apostolike men? Yet it seemed good to the holy Ghost and to them, to take that which they found (the same being for the greatest part true and sufficient) rather than by making a new, in that new world and greene age of the Church, to expose themselues to many exceptions and cavillations, as though they made a translation to serue their owne turne, and therefore bearing witnesse to themselues, their witnesse not to be regarded."

"There were also within a few hundreth yeeres after CHRIST, translations many into the Latine tongue: for this tongue also was very fit to conuey the Law and the Gospel by, because in

those times very many Countreys of the West, yea of the South, East and North, spake or vnderstood Latine, being made Prouinces to the *Romanes*. But now the Latine Translations were too many to be all good, for they were infinite (*Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt*, saith S. *Augustine*). Againe, they were not out of the *Hebrew* fountaine (wee speake of the *Latine* Translations of the Old Testament) but out of the *Greeke* streame, therefore the *Greeke* being not altogether cleare, the *Latine* deriued from it must needs be muddie. This moued *S. Hierome*, a most learned father, and the best linguist, without controuersie, of his age, or of any that went before him, to vndertake the translating of the Old Testament, out of the very fountaines themselues; which hee performed with that euidence of great learning, iudgement, industrie and faithfulnes, that he hath for euer bound the Church vnto him, in a debt of speciall remembrance and thankefulnesse."

These learned and good men knew the superlative value of the book on which they had been so long working, and they felt that their earnest labour was hallowed—that the altar sanctified the gift. They quote several of the Fathers in commendation of the pious and prayerful study of Scripture, and proceed to eulogize it in these significant and old-fashioned terms:—

"The Scriptures then being acknowledged to bee so full and so perfect, how can wee excuse our selues of negligence, if wee doe not studie them, of curiositie, if we be not content with them? Men talke much of εἰρεσιώνῃ, how many sweete and goodly things it had hanging on it; of the Philosophers stone, that it turneth copper into gold; of *Cornu-copia*, that it had all things necessary for foode in it; of *Panaces* the herbe, that it was good for all diseases; of *Catholicon* the drugge, that it is in stead of all purges; of *Vulcans* armour, that it was an armour of proofe against all thrusts, and all blowes, &c. Well, that which they falsly or vainely attributed to these things for bodily good, wee may iustly and with full measure ascribe vnto the Scripture, for spirituall. It is not onely an armour, but also a whole armorie of weapons, both offensiue and defen-

siue; whereby we may saue our selues and put the enemie to flight. It is not an herbe, but a tree, or rather a whole paradise of trees of life, which bring foorth fruit euery moneth, and the fruit thereof is for meate, and the leaues for medicine. It is not a pot of *Manna*, or a cruse of oyle, which were for memorie onely, or for a meales meate or two, but as it were a showre of heauenly bread sufficient for a whole host, be it neuer so great; and as it were a whole cellar full of oyle vessels; whereby all our necessities may be prouided for, and our debts discharged. In a word, it is a Panary of holesome foode, against fenowed traditions; a Physions-shop (Saint *Basill* calleth it) of preseruatives against poisoned heresies; a Pandect of profitable lawes, against rebellious spirits; a treasurie of most costly iewels, against beggarly rudiments; Finally a fountaine of most pure water springing vp vnto euerlasting life. And what maruaile? The originall thereof being from heauen, not from earth; the authour being God, not man; the enditer, the holy spirit, not the wit of the Apostles or Prophets; the Pen-men such as were sanctified from the wombe, and endewed with a principall portion of Gods spirit; the matter, veritie, pietie, puritie, vprightness; the forme, Gods word, Gods testimonie, Gods oracles, the word of trueth, the word of salvation, &c.; the effects, light of vnderstanding, stablenesse of perswasion, repentance from dead workes, newnesse of life, holinesse, peace, ioy in the Holy Ghost; lastly, the end and reward of the studie thereof, fellowship with the Saints, participation of the heauenly nature, fruition of an inheritance immortall, vndefiled, and that neuer shall fade away: Happie is the man that delighteth in the Scripture, and thrise happie that meditateth in it day and night."

They set to their work with a will and in the true spirit. Their piety and modesty are incidentally referred to:—

"And in what sort did these assemble? In the trust of their owne knowledge, or of their sharpenesse of wit, or deepenesse of iudgment, as it were in an arme of flesh? At no hand. They trusted in him that hath the key of *Dauid* opening and no man shutting; they prayed to the Lord, the Father of our

Lord, to the effect that S. *Augustine* did; 'O, let thy Scriptures be my pure delight, let me not be deceiued in them, neither let me deceiue by them.' In this confidence, and with this deuotion did they assemble together; not too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest many things haply might escape them."

When the task was completed at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster, three copies were sent to London and revised again by two from each company or place,[1] and this supervision occupied nine months. Thus the pages were considered by all the companies in succession, and Dr. Myles Smith and Dr. Bilson, "who carried prelature in his very aspect," and whose name does not appear among the revisers, superintended the work at press. But the account given by Samuel Ward, one of the revisers, in name of the English delegates (Theologi Angli) to the Synod of Dort in November, 1618, differs from that given in the previous paragraphs. It reduces the rules for the translators to seven, and says that twelve persons were selected for the final review.[2] On the other hand, it is recorded that Downes and Bois went up to London, and there met their "four fellow-labourers."[3]

This last revision required pecuniary expenditure, but it was not defrayed by the king, or from the funds of the church. Each of the revisers received thirty shillings a week, not, as Lewis reports, thirty pounds, which Barker seems to have paid. One authority says that the wages were paid by the Stationers' Company; but another writer on this subject, in 1651, asserts openly, "and forasmuch as propriety rightly considerd is a legal relation of any one to a temporal good, I conceive the sole printing of the Bible and Testament, with power of restraint in others, to be of right the property of one Matthew Barker, citizen and stationer of London, in regard that his father paid for the amended or corrected translation of the Bible £3,500 by reason whereof the translated copy did

[1] Twelve persons in the one case and six in the other.

[2] Acta Synodi Nat. Dordrecht., p. 27, 28.

[3] Life of John Bois, by Dr. A. Walker, Harleian MSS., printed in Peck, Desiderata Curiosa. See also Scrivener's Introduction, p. xiv.

of right belong to himself and his assigns."[1] According to the same author, Matthew Barker paid £600 for a reversionary patent in 1635.

After so long a period of anxious labour, carried out in the spirit of true scholarship and genuine piety, the new Bible was issued in 1611, under the title:—

"The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament and the New. Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: and with the former Translations, diligently compared and revised by his Majesty's Speciall Commandement. Appointed to bē read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. Anno Dom. 1611."

It was published in handsome folio, and in that year there were two issues—one with a beautiful frontispiece, engraved on copper, by C. Boel, of Richmont. Which of the two issues is the earlier, it is difficult to say, especially after what Mr. Fry[2] of Bristol, Mr. Lenox[3] of New York, and Dr. Scrivener,[4] have written on both sides of the question. We are, however, still inclined to the more common opinion that the issue with Boel's engraving is the earlier of the two. The titles and sheets of the several editions were often craftily mixed up to deceive buyers into the belief that they were purchasing an early issue.

The volume was disfigured by a dedication of fulsome magniloquence to the king,—"the sun in his strength," "that sanctified person, enriched with many singular and extraordinary graces," "the wonder of the world in this latter age." It concludes with a fling at the Puritans: "Or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self-conceited brethren, who run

[1] Quoted by Mr. Anderson in his Annals, vol. II, p. 384, and by Mr. Potts, M.A., and tutor in Cambridge, in his evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, 1860, from a brief treatise "concerning the regulating of printing humbly submitted to the Parliament of England by William Ball, Esq., London, 1651."

[2] A Description of the Great Bible, &c., and of the Authorized Version, &c., by Francis Fry, F.S.A., London, 1865.

[3] Early Editions of King James's Bible in folio, New York, 1861.

[4] Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, 1873.

their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil, we may rest secure, supported within by the truth and innocency of a good conscience, having walked the ways of simplicity and integrity, as before the Lord, and sustained without by the powerful protection of Your Majesty's grace and favour, which will ever give countenance to honest and Christian endeavours against bitter censures and uncharitable imputations." The Preface, which, though it is composed in the elaborate style of the age, and gemmed with so many patristic quotations, is yet in many points of great excellence alike in tone and aim, in candour and criticism; in the points discussed, the arguments maintained, and the anticipations cherished as to the result both in church and land by the divine blessing. It is, however, as eulogistic of the king as is the Dedication: "This, and more to this purpose, His Maiestie that now reigneth (and long, and long may he reigne, and his offspring for euer, *Himselfe and children, and childrens children alwayes*) knew full well, according to the singular wisedome giuen vnto him by God, and the rare learning and experience that he hath attained vnto; namely that whosoeuer attempteth any thing for the publike (specially if it pertaine to Religion, and to the opening and clearing of the word of God) the same setteth himselfe vpon a stage to be glouted vpon by euery euil eye, yea, he casteth himselfe headlong vpon pikes, to be gored by euery sharpe tongue. For he that medleth with mens Religion in any part, medleth with their custome, nay, with their freehold; and though they finde no content in that which they haue, yet they cannot abide to heare of altering. Notwithstanding his Royall heart was not daunted or discouraged for this or that colour, but stood resolute, *as a statue immoueable, and an anuile not easie to be beaten into plates,* as one sayth; he knew who had chosen him to be a Souldier, or rather a Captaine, and being assured that the course which he intended made much for the glory of God, & the building vp of his Church, he would not suffer it to be broken off for whatsoeuer speaches or practises." A kind word is also said in defence of public burdens, and the sentences must have

highly pleased his majesty, who, with great need of his subjects' money, and an intense craving after it, imagined that he had an inherent claim upon it. "*Dauid* was a worthy Prince, and no man to be compared to him for his first deedes, and yet for as worthy an acte as euer he did (euen for bringing backe the Arke of God in solemnitie) he was scorned and scoffed at by his owne wife. *Solomon* was greater than *Dauid*, though not in vertue, yet in power: and by his power and wisdome he built a Temple to the Lord, such a one as was the glory of the land of Israel, and the wonder of the whole world. But was that his magnificence liked of by all? We doubt of it. Otherwise, why doe they lay it in his sonnes dish, and call vnto him for easing of the burden, *Make*, say they, *the grieuous seruitude of thy father, and his sore yoke, lighter.* Belike he had charged them with some leuies, and troubled them with some cariages; Hereupon they raise vp a tragedie, and wish in their heart the Temple had neuer bene built. So hard a thing it is to please all, euen when we please God best, and do seeke to approue our selues to euery ones conscience."

The clause on the title-page, "Appointed to be read in churches," has, so far as is known, no authority, no edict of Convocation, no Act of Parliament, no decision of the Privy Council, no royal proclamation. At the same time, the new edition had virtual authority by the order of succession, by the law of entail and lineage; for it was made as a national book, by royal order, on purpose to displace the Bishops' Bible, and it had succeeded the Great Bible which had been formally authorized by the crown. The clause under review, it is said, has been sometimes understood as if it were connected with the previous words "by his majesty's special command." But its omission in some editions, especially of the New Testament, means nothing. When the two Testaments were bound up together, it was enough that it was printed on the first and general title-page which covered the whole volume, and it was engraven on the copper-plate title of the first edition. Yet the first folio in Roman character omits it, but that was in 1616. The first edition was meant to set the model for all subsequent

issues. The "churches" are only those in connection with the Established Church of England, "this whole church to be bound into it and none other," according to the minute of Conference. The Dedication, also, expressly declares, "we have great hopes that the Church of *England* shall reap great good thereby."[1] None but members of that church had any hand in the work. Yet the first letter of Genesis in the Bible has in it the rose and thistle. In the Preface Puritans are twice referred to in a somewhat scornful spirit, and also in the Dedication; while Archbishop Bancroft is called "the chief overseer under his majesty, to whom, not only we, but also our whole church was much bound."[2] The Puritan party that suggested the translation were not Nonconformists. Nor were they in sympathy with Scotch Presbyterians. Reynolds wrote in defence of the Liturgy, and Sparke in favour of conformity. His own party disowned Reynolds and his colleagues, as being "not of their nomination or choosing, or of one judgment" with them.[3] The millenary petitioners disclaimed all connection with the Presbyterian and "popular party in the church, and with all separatists who sought the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical."

But it has been surmised that the Scottish Church was in some way represented by Galloway. Galloway had been a minister in Perth, many years before the time of the Conference, and had been one of the royal chaplains from 1589 to 1607. He had been obliged to fly for safety to England in 1584, because he had so resolutely preached against Lennox and Arran; and he had been "decourted" in 1601 "at the instance of the Queen." He wrote, as told in a previous page, an account of the meetings, which, after the king had revised it, he sent as "a just transumpt" down to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. But he was reckoned, in the phrase of the period, "a fallen star"; and in no sense did he

[1] And so Dr. Scrivener says that the "five clergymen who revised some of the Epistles, in or about 1858, benefited the English Church by revising its Authorized Version." Criticism, p. 545, 2nd Edition, 1874.

[2] Bancroft died on the 2nd of November, 1610.

[3] Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. I, p. 463.

represent the Church of Scotland; for he was employed as one of the royal tools in attempts to subvert its distinctive constitution; and these papers sent down to Edinburgh from Hampton Court were a portion of the process. His career, as a courtier, was so successful that his son was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Dunkeld.[1] When the Edinburgh ministers were arbitrarily banished from the city, for refusing to accept, on all points, the king's account of the Gowrie conspiracy, Galloway preached vigorously in the royal defence, and applied to the sovereign without reserve the words and imagery in which the psalmist describes his great deliverances. Eight ministers were, indeed, summoned up from Scotland in 1606, but the points to be discussed by or before them were the royal prerogative and power to summon and dismiss ecclesiastical assemblies. The Scottish party would not listen to the voice of the charmer, though the voice was lordly and learned; the discourses of four episcopalian dignitaries produced no effect upon them, and so far from being employed in the work of translation, they were not only forbidden to attend church courts any more, but were severely punished. Andrew Melville, Principal of the University of St. Andrews, after being deprived of his academic office, was sent to the Tower[2] by a court which had no jurisdiction over him, and he obtained his liberty by exiling himself at the age of sixty-six. The others were bound to fix their dwellings in various places, many miles distant from the scenes of their usual pastoral labours. Melville had been so imprudent as to write a smart Latin epigram on the decorations of the altar in the royal chapel, and on being challenged for it he flared into high words with Bancroft, and twitted him with writing a book against the succession of

[1] This son became first "Master of Bequests and conjunct Secretary of State, along with the Earl of Stirling, and was elevated to the peerage in 1645. The third son joined the army of Claverhouse, and being outlawed after Killiecrankie, retired to the court of St. Germains, and the fourth son was an officer in the French service." — Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. I, p. 483.

[2] Adversity creates strange fellowships. Melville met Hamilton "the Skirmisher" (page 54) in the Tower, as a fellow-prisoner, got into friendly intercourse with him, and attended him with great kindness in his last moments.

James to the English crown. Producing the book from his pocket, and getting into closer than logical proximity to the enraged prelate, he shook him "freely and roundly by his popish rags."[1]

The welcome which many in England gave to the new translation is gratefully expressed by Fuller: "And now, after long expectation and great desire, came forth the new translation of the Bible (most beautifully printed), by a select and competent number of divines appointed for that purpose; not being too many lest one should trouble another, and yet many lest any things might haply escape them; who, neither coveting praise for expedition, nor fearing reproach for slackness (seeing, in a business of moment, none deserve blame for convenient slowness), had expended almost three years in the work, not only examining the channels by the fountain, translations with the original, which was absolutely necessary; but also comparing channels with channels, which was abundantly useful, in the Spanish, Italian, French, and Dutch languages. So that their industry, skilfulness, piety, and discretion have therein bound the Church unto them in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness. These, with Jacob, 'rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well' of life, Gen. xxix, 10; so that even Rachels, weak women, may freely come, both to drink themselves, and water the flocks of their families at the same."[2]

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 679. James's Scottish countrymen were far from being popular at this time, and their unpopularity was increased by the case of Calvin or of the *postnati*, the question being, What were the civil rights in England of persons born in Scotland since 1603? Were they aliens or not? When Guy Fawkes, on his trial, was asked by a Scottish peer why he had stored up such a quantity of gunpowder, his sudden reply was, "To blow you beggarly Scotch back to your barren hills." So unpopular were Scotchmen in 1612, that three thousand of them passed homeward, through Ware, in ten days. Nichol's Progresses, vol. II, p. 649.

[2] Church History of Britain, vol. III, p. 245.

The name given in the Preface as "Efnard" should be "Einard," the abridger of the French Psalter, Ussher's Letter to Ward, Works, vol. XV, p. 291.

CHAPTER XLIV.

BUT while the Bishops' Bible was to be "as little altered" as possible, the revision was made by the constant use and comparison of the Hebrew and Greek originals. Their own words are: "If you aske what they had before them, truely it was the Hebrewe text of the Olde Testament, the Greeke of the New. These are the two golden pipes or rather conduits where through the oliue branches emptie themselues into the golde. Saint *Augustine* calleth them precedent or originall tongues: Saint *Hierome* fountaines. The same Saint *Hierome* affirmeth, and *Gratian* hath not spared to put it into his Decree, 'That as the credit of the olde bookes (he meaneth of the Old Testament) is to be tryed by the Hebrewe volumes, so of the New by the Greeke tongue (he meaneth by the originall Greeke.)' If trueth be to be tried by these tongues, then whence should a translation be made, but out of them? These tongues therefore, the Scripture wee say in these tongues, wee set before vs to translate, being the tongues wherein God was pleased to speake to His church by His prophets and apostles."

These translators had not, of course, the so-called Textus Receptus either of the Old or of the New Testaments—the former being the edition of Van der Hooght,[1] and the second that of the Elzevirs.[2] But of Hebrew Bibles they had a choice, as is shown in a statement on page 209. They had access also to the Complutensian Polyglott[3] and to the Antwerp Poly-

[1] Amsterdam, 1705.

[2] Leyden, 1624.

[3] The Old Testament is contained in vol. I–IV. The entire book, of which 600 copies were printed, was delayed in publication by the death of its patron on the 8th November, 1517, and Pope Leo

glott.[1] They had thus more than one edition which they could use, and they made some collations.

The Hebrew text of the Old Testament is far from being in a perfect state, and there are but scanty means of amending it. No Hebrew manuscripts are of very ancient date, few going beyond the twelfth century, and it is perilous to attempt to introduce alterations either from the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, or the Targums. But the Masoretic notes bearing chiefly on the text are also grammatical, lexical, euphemistic, and exegetical, and they are abundant. Elias Levita reckoned them at 848, while Capell found no less than 1171. What is technically called the Keri and the Chetib refer to the spelling and pronunciation, but such various readings were not always regarded by the translators, who were quite capricious in their treatment. Thus the Masora gives fifteen instances where *lo* should be written so as to signify "to him" —and not to signify "not."[2] Thus in Isaiah ix, 3, in the clause "thou hast not increased the joy," which contradicts the rest of the verse, "they joy before Thee," the translators put the note "to him" into the margin—though it should have been in the text. In Exodus xxi, 8, "not" should be "to himself" as the Masora intimates, and this is accepted into the text without any remark. Words omitted altogether in the Hebrew text are supplied by the Masorets, and these supplements are accepted by the royal revisers usually, but not always, without any reference. On the other hand, spurious words are also marked, and the translators made their choice of text or margin, but not always with judicious preference.[3] The extraordinary marks over words and letters have been often neglected. Thus in Judges xviii, 30, the *n* in the proper name Ma*n*asseh is so marked, the hanging form of the *n* denoting

did not license it till March 22nd, 1520.

[1] The Antwerp Polyglott was published in 1569-72, and in addition to the text found in the Complutensian it has a Chaldee paraphrase, the Syriac version and the Latin translation of Arias Montanus, which is a revision of that of Pagninus.

[2] לֹו to him; לֹא not.

[3] The same remark may be made to some extent about some of the writers in the Speaker's Commentary.

that the name should be Moses, the common reading having been devised to conceal the fact that this idolatrous priest was the son of Gershom and grandson of Moses.[1] There are eighteen corrections of the scribes (Tikkun Sopherim) sometimes conjectural and sometimes based on exegetical opinions. Gen. xviii, 22, might be "and Jehovah stood yet before Abraham." The reading which has been altered may be in many cases the original reading. Habakkuk i, 12, might read as Ewald prefers—"Art Thou not from everlasting." . . . "Thou diest not." Geiger usually adopts these readings.

Three readings of no moment are formally marked, Ezra x, 40, at the word "Machnadebai" the margin has or "Mabnadebai according to some copies." Psalms cii, 3, "my days are consumed like smoke," "or as some read into smoke." Cant. v, 4, "for him," "or as some read, in me." But there are at least sixty-seven notes referring to various readings of the Hebrew, generally pointed out on the margin by "or." In about half of them the Keri is given while the Chetib is kept in the text, but also in many cases the process is reversed. As these readings have generally the same initial mark as the alternative renderings, they are often not distinguished by the common reader.[2] They ignored, of course, the Masoretic notes at the end of each book—such notes as tell the number of the verses and letters in it, point out the middle verse, and mark the larger and shorter sections, with other similar minutiæ. The revisers of the Old Testament were excellent Hebrew scholars, six of them then or afterwards held the chair of Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge —Lively had held it for thirty years; Bedwell was of unrivalled fame as an Arabic scholar. Many parts of the Old Testament, especially in the Historical Books and the Psalms, are admirably done.[3]

[1] מֹשֶׁה.

[2] The list is given in Dr. Scrivener's Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, p. 25.

[3] Many acute and excellent remarks on the Hebrew text will be found in Dr. Davidson's Hebrew text of the Old Testament (London, 1855), and many sound scholarly suggestions are contained in several parts of his volume "On a Fresh Revision of the English Old Testa-

They used their own judgment in selecting a Greek text of the New Testament. That which they generally used was the best within their reach at the time, and it is substantially that of Beza, 1589, it being taken from Stephens's folio of 1550, with some variations; while both Stephens and Beza were based on the fourth edition of Erasmus. The common statement is that in about eighty-one places they agree with Beza against Stephens; in about twenty-one places they agree with Stephens against Beza; while in twenty-nine places they follow neither, but are guided by Erasmus, the Vulgate, or the Complutensian Polyglott.[1] In places in the New Testament where they could not decide they gave an alternative in the margin, Beza being followed in the text, and Stephens put in the margin, or *vice versa*. Thus Matt. xxi, 7, "set him thereon," B,[2] instead of "he sat thereon," St.; xxiii, 13, 14, in the order of the verses, B.; Mark ix, 16, "with them," St.; margin, "or, among yourselves," after the rendering of the Vulgate and Beza, who adds that this is the reading of his oldest MS.;[3] ix, 40, "he that is not against us," B., "you," St.; Luke ii, 38, "Jerusalem," St., margin, "or, Israel," after Beza's note; John xviii, 15, where the margin, without any explanation, abruptly reads, "And Annas sent Christ bound unto Caiaphas, the high priest,"—taken from the Bishops' Bible, and though not inserted by Beza into his last text, yet is justified by him; Rom. vii, 6, "that being dead wherein," B., margin, "or, being dead to

ment, London, 1873." See Delitzsch, Studies on the Complutensian Polyglott, Bagster and Sons, London, and the Delitzsch-Tregelles Handschriftl. Funde. Leipzig, 1861-63.

[1] The list with some variations is given by Canon Westcott in the article "New Testament" in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. II, p. 254; by Dr. Scrivener, in the introduction to the Cambridge Bible, appendix E; also by Professor Abbot of Harvard University. This last list would show that the Authorized Version agrees with Beza of 1589 against Stephens of 1550 in about ninety places, with Stephens against Beza in about forty places, and that in about from thirty to forty places it differs from both. There are cases in which it is impossible to decide the Greek reading from the English version. Schaff, Revision of the English Version, p. xxv, New York, 1873.

[2] B. is Beza; St. is Stephens.

[3] ἐν ὑμῖν.

that," St.; viii, 11, "by his spirit," B., margin, "or, on account of his spirit," St.; 1 Peter i, 4, "for you," B., margin, "for us," St.; 2 Peter i, 3, "to glory," B., margin, "or, by," St.; Rom. v, 17, "by one man's offence," St., margin, "or, by one offence," B's Latin; Gal. iv, 17, "they would exclude you," St., margin, "or, us," B. In Heb. x, 2, the interrogative form is from Stephens, "for then would they not have ceased to be offered?" margin, "or, they would have ceased to be offered," B. In Matt. ii, 11, x, 10, 2 Peter i, 1, they forsake both Beza and Stephens; in John xviii, 1, Acts xxviii, 29, they prefer the reading of the Vulgate, and from it also is taken the alternative rendering of the margin in Matt. xxiv, 31, "or, with a trumpet, and a great voice."

But different readings in the New Testament are also formally inserted in the margin. There are thirty-five such textual notes, and the following are a sample of them: Matt. i, 11, margin, "Some read, Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jechonias," a marginal reading of Stephens, but of no authority —first accepted by Beza, and then rejected by him in his third edition. Matt. xxvi, 26, "Jesus took bread and blessed it"; margin, "Many Greek copies have, Gave thanks." Their text follows Stephens and Beza, and the note is based on Beza, who says that "gave thanks" is read in some old codices, and that both words are used in Mark, viii, 6, 7, in reference to the same meal, adding some further thoughts on, or rather against, transubstantiation. But the reading is baseless, being introduced from the usage of Luke and Paul. Luke x, 22, at the beginning of the verse the margin says, "Many ancient copies add these words, And turning to his disciples, he said." In omitting this clause from their text, they deserted Stephens and followed Beza. The reading has, however, some manuscript authority, and some of the oldest versions, and is accepted by Tischendorf in his seventh edition, and even in his eighth, though the Sinaitic MS. omits it. It is omitted by Tregelles, and bracketed by Alford. Luke xvii, 36, "Two men shall be in the field, the one shall be taken and the other left"; margin, "This verse is wanting in most of the Greek copies,"—yet it is kept in the text after Beza, who says that it is in the Syriac, the

Complutensian, and some old codices. Erasmus and Stephens both omitted it; it has some support in versions, but MSS. are against it. Acts xxv, 6, "more than ten days"; margin, "Or as some copies read, No more than eight or ten days,"—the reading of the Vulgate, Syriac, and Coptic versions, and now accepted on great diplomatic authority. Ephesians vi, 9, "knowing that your master is also in heaven"; margin, "Some read, Both your and their master," and this is now the accepted reading, supported by preponderant evidence. Here, again, they follow Beza, and he admits the various reading in his own Latin version.[1] James ii, 18, "Show me thy faith without thy works"; margin, "Some copies read, By thy works," but these copies are of little weight. Beza rejected the reading "by thy works" as very frigid and jejune; but Stephens keeps it, and notes the other in the margin. 1 Peter ii, 21, "because Christ also suffered for us"; margin, "Some read, for you,"—Beza affirming that the reading "you" is rashly corrupted "to bring the clause into correspondence with the person of the previous verse." Stephens puts the reading in his margin. But there is every authority for "suffered for you," "leaving you." No uncial MS. reads "for us," "leaving us"; though two read with the Vulgate "suffered for us," "leaving you." 2 Peter ii, 2, "their pernicious ways"; margin, "or lascivious ways, as some copies read"—Stephens and Beza are followed—Beza quoting the Vulgate, the Complutensian, and six MSS. The reading preferred by our translators has no manuscript authority. 2 Peter ii, 11, "railing accusation against them"; margin, "Some read, against themselves," a various reading of no value in the margin of Stephens, and condemned by Beza.[2] 2 Peter ii, 18, "those that are clean escaped"; margin, "Or, for a little, or a while," as some read. The reading rests on high authority. Stephen notes it in his margin. Beza prefers *paululum*, but his note has a polemical tinge. 2 John 8, "that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive"; margin, "Some copies read, which ye have gained, but that ye receive, &c." Stephens notices the reading in his margin

[1] Et illorum et vester dominus.

[2] The Vulgate having *adversum se*, and Erasmus *adversus sese*.

which is that of the Vulgate, and there are variations. Finally, the last clause of 1 John ii, 23, is thus printed, "[*but*] *he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also.*" The italics are not employed, as usually, to mark a supplement, but to show that the words were regarded as suspicious. Why they should have chosen such a method of indication in this place only, it is impossible to conjecture. Stephens excluded the clause, but has a reference to it in the margin. Beza, however, admits it without hesitation, nay, vindicates his restoration of it from MSS., the Vulgate, and the style of the Apostle, which is very often marked by such antitheses. The clause rests on undoubted authority. Beza was followed in some doubtful cases, but here he is followed timidly, and no marginal comment is added. They imitate the Bishops' and the Great Bible in their mode of printing it, while Tyndale and Coverdale omit it altogether.[1]

They were wisely forbidden to append theological notes, but they vindicate in their preface the necessity and benefit of marginal renderings. "Some, peraduenture, would haue no varietie of sences to be set in the margine, lest the authoritie of the Scriptures for deciding of controuersies by that show of vncertaintie, should somewhat be shaken. But we hold their judgmẽt not to be so sound in this point. For though whatsoeuer things are necessary, are manifest, as S. Chrysostome saith, and S. Augustine. In those things that are plainely set downe in the Scriptures all such matters are found that concern faith, hope, and charitie. Yet for all that it cannot be dissembled, that partly to exercise and whet our wits, partly to weane the curious from loathing of them for their euerywhere-plainenesse, partly also to stirre vp our deuotion to craue the assistance of Gods spirit by prayer, and lastly that

[1] The margin of the New Testament of Robert Stephens, 1550, is not of great value. He did not print all the various readings which his son Henry had gathered, nor did he fully collate all the sixteen MSS., affirmed by him to be in his own possession, and some of which have not as yet been identified. His text usually differs from the majority of the readings in the margin, and in nineteen places it disagrees with them all.

we might be forward to seek ayd of our brethren by conference, and never to scorn those that be not in all respects so complete as they should bee, being to seeke in many things our selues, it hath pleased God in his diuine prouidence, heere and there to scatter wordes and sentences of that difficultie and doubtfulnesse, not in doctrinal points that concerne saluation, (for in such it hath been vouched that the Scriptures are plaine) but in matters of lesse moment." In this spirit, in addition to textual notes, they appended 6,637 marginal notes to the Old Testament—two-thirds of these expressing the more literal meaning of the Hebrew or Chaldee, having "Heb." or "Chald." prefixed, and of the remainder 2,156 contain alternative renderings, proper names are explained in 63, 240 contain an attempt to harmonize the text especially as to the spelling of proper names, 108 of these naturally belonging to the Books of Chronicles.[1] In the New Testament they placed 765—of these 35 state various readings, 582 are alternative renderings, 112 give more literal translations, and, quite in contrast to the Genevan, only 35 present explanations.

Many of the Notes, especially in the Old Testament, explain symbolic names like those in Hosea i, ii; and sometimes the Hebrew geographical name is put in the margin, when another term has been put into the text, as Cush, Ethiopia; Aram, Mesopotamia; Ararat, Armenia. When a Hebrew or a foreign term is kept in the text, it is occasionally explained in the margin: as Jasher, "of the upright," 2 Samuel i, 18; mammon, "riches," Luke xvi, 11; but they attach no note to Raca, in Matt. v, 22. And, conversely, the original term "teraphim" is carried to the margin, "images" remaining in the text, Gen. xxxi, 19; "the giant" is reserved for the text, "Rapha" relegated to the margin, 2 Sam. xxi, 16; "Praise ye the Lord" is in the text, and "Hallelujah" in the margin, Psalm cvi, 1, but no note is given to the same clause just before the conclusion of the previous Psalm. They were in great

[1] 1 Chron. i, 6, Riphath in the text is Diphath in the margin; 7, Dodanim, Rodanim; 17, Meshech, Mash; 30, Hadad, Hadar. According to Dr. Scrivener, there are 1,016 marginal notes in the Apocrypha.

doubt as to the meaning of two names in Isaiah lxv, 11, and they put the Hebrew terms "Gad," "Meni," in the margin; and they felt a similar bewilderment at Ezekiel xliii, 15. A more literal rendering than that of the text is frequently set in the margin: Gen. xxxi, 2, "as yesterday and the day before"; 1 Kings i, 25, "let king Adonijah live"; Psalms ii, 6, "anointed" "upon Zion the hill of my holiness." There are also alternative renderings, as if giving the reader his choice: Gen. vii, 11, "windows," margin, "flood-gates"; i, 6, "firmament," margin, "expansion"; Gen. xxxi, 54, "offered sacrifices," margin, "killed beasts"; Exodus xii, 6, "in the evening," margin, "between the two evenings"; Psalms xviii, 26, "thou wilt show thy self froward," margin, "wrestle." Geographical annotations are sometimes found: 2 Kings xxiii, 13, "mount of Corruption," margin, "that is, the mount of Olives"; 2 Chron. ix, 26, "the river," margin, "that is, Euphrates"; Acts xxvii, 7, "Crete," margin, "or, Candy." There are a few general notes interspersed[1]: Gen. vi, 5, margin, "the Hebrew word signifieth not only the imagination, but also the purposes and desires"; Exodus xxix, 13, on "caul,"[2] the margin is, "It seemeth by anatomy and the Hebrew doctors to be the midriff"; 2 Samuel xxiv, 1, "he made David to number," margin, "Satan"; Job x, 17, "thy witnesses," margin, "that is, thy plagues"; xii, 13, "with him," margin, "that is, with God"; xxvii, 3, "spirit of God," margin, "that is, the breath which God gave"; Psalms xxiv, 6, "Jacob," margin, "or, O God of Jacob." In John xviii, verse 24 is made a note to verse 13; Acts xvii, 19, "Areopagus," margin, "or, Mars' hill. It was the highest court in Athens"; 1 Cor. xi, 10, "power," margin, "that is, a covering or sign

[1] These examples, inserted by the revisers themselves, belong to the first edition. The notes were vastly multiplied in subsequent issues, and without authority.

[2] It may be added that in Hosea xiii, 8, the caul of the heart is mentioned, that is, the membrane enclosing the heart. The name is also given in Isaiah iii to some species of network that formed a portion of female head-dress. But in the Hebrew text of Exodus, Isaiah, and Hosea three different words are employed.

that she is under the power of her husband." There is also a note of some length to Acts xiii, 34, and to Mark vii, 3. Explanations of weights and of measures, and of terms denoting distances are also given. But there are no historical notes, for they are virtually an interpretation based on some scheme of chronology. The Bibles in common currency and use have many of these historical notes, but the translators themselves did not append them, They are therefore in no way responsible for the notes at Judges iii, 31; iv, 2; xi, 29; xii, 8, 11, 13; xiii, 1; xv, 20; 1 Sam. iv, 18; 2 Kings i, 17; viii, 17; 1 Chron. i, 50; Daniel i, 21; ix, 24; Hosea xiii, 10. Nor are they responsible for the reference to Josephus in Genesis xxii, 1, and 2 Kings xiv, 8; or for that to Ussher, 2 Kings xv, 30; or for the prefatory note to the Book of Job; nor that on Psalm lx, 8; or Hosea ix, 3; or for that at the beginning of 2 Kings xv, in which the word "monarchy" occurs in the sense of "sole reign." All those are later interpolations, and have been brought in from time to time without recognized authority; 269 of such notes first appeared in the edition of Dr. Paris, 1762; and Dr. Blayney added 66 additional annotations. A large group of these notes may be seen at the end of Daniel ix, the one note of the first edition being omitted altogether. The chronology of Archbishop Ussher has also been inserted, and is now found in the most of Bibles, though it has not a satisfactory basis. It is startling to find that the epoch of the creation, the deluge, and the call of Abram is given without any misgiving, while Job is assigned to about 1520 B.C., and 1,000 years B.C. runs through the first twenty-four chapters of Proverbs, and then 300 years are suddenly deducted, and it becomes "about B.C. 700." There are no distinct chronological data given in the earlier chapters of Genesis. For it is said x, 15, "Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth," but the next clause adds the names of tribes begotten by him, "the Jebusite and the Amorite," &c., a mode of expression that makes a very large and indefinite demand on time. The date assigned to the earthquake, B.C. 787, is certainly not correct, nor can 862, prefixed to Jonah, be the true year.

It would be a great exaggeration to say that the marginal renderings are better than those of the text, but not a few of them certainly are preferable, as those attached to Gen. xxi, 33; Deut. xxi, 23; Josh. xx, 7; Psalm ii, 6; xxix, 2; Prov. iv, 23; Ezek. xxix, 10; Matt. ii, 6, 11; v, 21; xxii, 20; xxiii, 18; Mark vii, 3; x, 52; John i, 12; xiv, 18; Acts xiii, 36; xvii, 23; xix, 38, 39; xxv, 20; xxvii, 40; Romans iii, 25; vii, 7; Galatians iv, 25; Ephesians i, 19; vi, 24; 1 Thess. i, 4; 2 Thess. i, 7; Titus, ii, 11; Hebrews ii, 16; vi, 7, 17; vii, 3, 28; 2 Peter iii, 12; 3 John 14; Rev. iii, 14, &c., &c. Yet no one will fully adopt the statement of Gell, "that the translators have placed some different significations in the margent, but these mostwhat the better, because where truth is tried by most voyces it is commonly outvoted."[1]

The fourteenth rule given to the translators exhorted them, in cases of doubt and difficulty, to consult Tyndale, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitchurch, Geneva. The order is peculiar, in that it places Matthew before Coverdale, and calls the Great Bible by the name of one of its printers—Whitchurch.[2] The reference to Matthew was superfluous, as his Bible is simply made up of Tyndale and Coverdale. This rule the translators did not specially regard, for they knew that these versions were a series of revisions, and therefore they revised the Bishops' by the help of its contemporary, the Genevan. In fact, they clung as closely to it as to the Bishops', though they often differ with advantage from both. In the historical books they keep near the Bishops'. The royal condemnation of the Genevan did not affect them, but they gave it its just place in their estimation, and, especially in the prophetic books, adopt it as often as they adopt the Bishops'. Professor Moulton's exact calculation is that, in one hundred and eighty-two words of six verses, Isaiah liv, 11-17, eighty remain unchanged from the previous versions, sixty are from the Genevan, and only twelve are from the Bishops'.[3] In the familiar fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, Canon Westcott has counted that of the

[1] Essay toward the Amendment of the last English Translation, preface p. 24, London, 1659.

[2] Whitchurch had married the widow of Cranmer.

[3] Bible Educator, vol. IV, p. 380.

variations seven-eighths are due to the Genevan.[1] And they made use of another version, not mentioned to them at all—the Rheims.[2] The Genevan represented an extreme section of Protestant English refugees, and the Rheims a party of extreme Popish exiles; but they profited by the consultation of both versions. Many happy turns were borrowed from the one, and from the other they enriched their vocabulary, though they avoided the theological notes of the first, and did not accept the swarm of Latinized terms that disfigure the second. Instances of the happy use of the Genevan and the Rheims are to be found everywhere.

They had also other helps, as they record in their Preface: "Neither did wee thinke much to consult the translators and commentators—Chaldee, Hebrewe, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine, no, nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch; neither did we disdaine to reuise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anuill that which we had hammered: but hauing and vsing as great helpes as were needfull, and fearing nor eproch for slownesse, nor coueting praise for expedition, wee haue at the length, through the good hand of the Lord vpon us, brought the worke to that passe that you see." These more modern versions were probably a Spanish translation, De Regna, 1569, and a revision of it by Cyprian De Valera,[3] Amsterdam, 1602; a French translation by Olivetan, 1535, and by the Company of Pastors, Geneva, in 1587-88; an Italian translation by Diodati, Geneva, 1607. Of course, they had Luther's Bible; and if Dutch is to be distinguished from German, then a Dutch translation had been published in 1560 based on Luther's version. They had also Pagninus, the edition of Arias Montanus, and Münster. They were very familiar with the translation of the Old Testament by Tremellius, Frankfort, 1575-76-79; and its second edition, under the care of Junius, his son-in-law, Geneva, 1590. The Targum of Onkelos had been printed several times before 1611, and also

[1] History of the English Bible, p. 274.

[2] King James at that time detested the Papists, and the Gunpowder Plot had been discovered on the 5th of November, 1605.

[3] See some account of De Valera in Thomsons' Fasti, vol. II, p. 353.

that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel. The Peshito also had been published, as was also the Latin version of Castalio, 1551.

One glimpse into their method of procedure is given by Selden: "The English translation of the Bible is the best translation in the world, and renders the sense of the original best, taking in for the English translation the Bishops' Bible, as well as King James's. The translators in King James's time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue—as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downes; and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on."

The alternative renderings which they place in the margin show what helps they had been consulting for the text. Thus in Isaiah xl, apart from the more literal renderings of Hebrew idioms, the following marginal notes may be taken as an example: 1, "her warfare is accomplished," Genevan,[1] but the alternative rendering, "appointed time,"[2] is from Tremellius; 4, "and the rough [places] made plaine," B., G.B.[3]—marginal rendering, "a plain place";[4] 9, "O Zion, that bringest good tidings! O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings!"—B. and Genevan being virtually the same, after Pagninus, Münster, and Leo Judæ; but the marginal rendering, "O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion," is from Tremellius,[5] the Septuagint adopting the former, and the Vulgate the latter.[6] 10, "The Lord God will come with strong hand," "with power," G. and B.;[7] but the dissimilar margin, "against the strong," is again from Tremellius.[8] "His work before him"—similar in G. and B., after Pagninus, Münster, and Leo Judæ;[9] while the margin, "or recompense for his

[1] "Militia completa"—Pagninus and Münster.
[2] "Tempus præfinitum."
[3] B. is Bishops'; G.B., the Gt. Bible.
[4] "In planitiem"—Pagninus and Münster.
[5] "O quae evangelizas Zijoni."
[6] "Qui evangelizas Zijoni."
[7] "Cum forti," Pagninus.
[8] "Contra robustum."
[9] "Opus ejus ante ipsum."

work," is virtually after Castalio.[1] 11, "those that are with young," virtually after G. and B;[2] but the marginal reading is correct, "that give suck," and is from the French version of 1588.[3] 14, "and who instructed him" G.; margin, "Hebrew, made him understand," literal, after Coverdale and the Zürich German.[4] 22, "It is he that sitteth"; margin, "or him that sitteth."[5] 31, "shall renew their strength," Tremellius, after Leo Judæ; margin, "or, change," Vulgate.[6] The Hebrew verb means to exchange strength, or get new strength.

The royal revisers were somewhat independent in their appropriation and in their rejection of the renderings found in the preceding versions.

The Bishops' was the translation which was immediately revised by royal order, and it therefore had its own influence in moulding the Authorized Version. But it was changed in many ways, though now and then both its text and margin are retained, as in 2 Cor. viii, 22; or sometimes the text of the Bishops' becomes the margin of the Authorized, as in 2 Thess. iii, 14; Ephes. iv, 1; and the margin of the Bishops' the text of the Authorized, as in Gal. vi, 12; 2 Pet. i, 20. The revisers often followed the earlier versions in places where change would have been profitable, but sometimes they have introduced alterations to the worse. A few examples may be given:

Mark xii, 44, "they did cast in of their abundance,"[7] from the Rheims and the Vulgate, superseding the better reading, "superfluity," of the Bishops', and all the preceding versions.

The older translations are rightly forsaken in Mark vi, 29, in the rendering "corpse"; "body" being the earlier rendering, the Genevan having "or carcase" in the margin.

On the other hand, the Authorized follows the older versions in wrongly rendering "but" in 1 Thess. ii, 18, "but[8]

[1] "Præmium suumque."

[2] "Fœtas," Vulgate, Münster, Pagninus, and Leo Judæ.

[3] "Celles qui allaitent," Luther having "die Schaffmütter."

[4] "Das er in verstendig mache."

[5] "Eum qui insidet," Tremellius.

[6] "Novas vires recipiunt," Leo Judæ; "mutabunt" being the verb in the Vulgate, followed by Pagninus, Münster; "mutant vires" in Tremellius.

[7] Quod abundabat illis.

[8] καὶ.

Satan hindered us"; the contrast is not expressed by the conjunction, but lies in the context, the particle simply adding another fact in sequence, as in Hebrew narration.

Acts i, 4, the translation "being assembled together with them" is better than "and gaddered them together"—the rendering of all the older versions but the Rheims, which, after Wycliffe, has "and eating with them"—found in our margin.

In Heb. iv, 1, the older versions have "let us fear, therefore, lest any of us forsaking the promise of entering," but the Authorized Version boldly alters, and gives "a promise being left us of entering." In a more important place it forsakes the older versions, and mistranslates the original—"the promises . . . . having seen them afar off and embraced them." The proper rendering is "saluted them," for the privation of the fathers was that they could not embrace them. Wycliffe has "greetynge"; so Tyndale, Coverdale, the Great Bible, the Bishops', and the Rheims; but the Genevan versions have, the one "received them thankfully" (1560), and the other "with thanks" (1557). Our translators have also so rendered the verb in Acts xx, 1, thus in some way identifying salute and embrace.

The Authorized Version also follows the older versions, in shrinking from the full and literal sense of the first clause of 2 Pet. iii, 12, when it renders "hasting *unto* the coming of the day of God," the insertion of "unto" being unwarranted. Believers are exhorted to speed the coming of the day of God. The true translation—"hasting the coming"—is relegated to the margin, as if it had been felt to be too adventurous to put it into the text. ". . . that it may please thee . . . to hasten thy kingdom" (Burial Service).

In a similar way, and apparently from a similar motive, the true sense is departed from in Acts iii, 19, "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out when the times of refreshing shall come." Without doubt the conjunction[1] signifies "in order that." Two ends are spoken of as the twin result of their conversion—first, "that your sins may be blotted out"; and secondly, "that seasons of refreshing

[1] ὅπως.

may come"; these seasons, connected with the second advent or mission of Jesus, at the restitution of all things. The second advent is thus conditioned in its period by the state of the world and the church; but our translators, not being able to entertain the notion, render the conjunction by "when"; and to show that they felt some necessity laid upon them, this is the only place where it is so translated. The older versions have the same misrendering; the Genevan of 1557 has "since," but the note in the margin of the Bishops' hints at the true reference.

It forsakes its predecessor in rendering Heb. ii, 16, "he took not on *him the nature of* angels," the true rendering being put into the margin, and the false translation probably suggested by the marginal note of the Bishops'. The verse is not an assertion of the incarnation, but an inferential argument for it.

Matt. xiv, 8, "And she being before instructed of her mother," does not give the sense with its peculiar point; it is rather, "and she being put forward (set on) by her mother." Our version is based upon the Vulgate,[1] and it may be traced through the Bishops', the Genevan, the Great Bible, Matthew, and Coverdale, up to Tyndale, who has "beinge informed of her mother before."

It follows Tyndale, the Great Bible, the Genevan, and the Bishops', and misrenders Acts ii, 6, "now when this was noised abroad" ("about" in the older versions), putting the better translation into the margin, "when this voice was made." Coverdale and the Rheims have "voice." The noun never signifies report or rumour, and refers to the "sound" of *v.* 2, and means when that sound had taken place.

In the injunction, "abstain from all appearance of evil," 1 Thess. v, 22, "appearance" is properly what presents itself to the eye—form or figure, as in Luke iii, 22; ix, 29; John v, 37; and in 2 Cor. v, 7. But the word does not mean semblance without reality, though the sense suggested by the English translation, which copies the Genevan rendering, is, avoid what bears the aspect of evil, though it be not really

[1] Præmonita a matre.

evil; or, as Tyndale has it, "all suspicious things."[1] The contrast is not between what is really good, and is to be held fast, and what is evil only in appearance.

Mark vi, 20, "Herodias would have killed him, but she could not, for Herod observed him" (Bishops' and Genevan)—rather "preserved"—shielded him from her malignity,

The older versions are followed in giving a rendering to Luke xxiii, 15, which takes away all sense from the passage, "No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him, and lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him"; for the rendering should be not "unto him," but "by him." Pilate had said, "I find no fault in him," and he adds that Herod had come to a similar conclusion—nothing had been done by him that could entail capital punishment.

"Cumber," now all but obsolete, may be supposed to have the same meaning as "encumber" in Luke xiii, 7, "why cumbereth it the ground?" Such a translation, however, does not represent the verb of the original, but is probably due to the *occupat* of the Vulgate, Wycliffe having "wherto occupieth it the erthe?" and the Rheims, "whereto also doth it occupy the ground." "Cumber" was introduced by Tyndale, and Coverdale has "why hyndreth it the ground?"[2] But these translations amount only to this—"Why does it take up so much of the soil?" the Genevan advancing a step, and giving "why keepeth it also the ground barren?" The sense has its point in the "also," and the verb means to destroy the ground, for the tree was pernicious as well as fruitless. It is quite a different verb that is rendered "cumbered" in Luke x, 40, "Martha was cumbered with much service."

"Blindness" instead of "hardness" is wrong in Rom. xi, 25; Ephes. iv, 18, after the Vulgate,[3] but it is rightly rendered "hardness" in Mark iii, 5—the rendering also of the Genevan.

Gal. vi, 11 is misrendered in the Authorized Version, following Tyndale, the Great Bible, and the Genevan, "ye see how large a letter I have written." The true and literal translation is, "ye see with how large letters I have written," the allusion

[1] The Vulgate reads "ab omni mala specie."

[2] "Impedit" in the old Latin.

[3] Cœcitas.

being to the large characters which, from age, infirmity, or want of experience in writing Greek, his own hand had traced on the parchment.

It rightly forsakes the earlier versions in John i, 3, 4, by rendering "him" instead of "it," and has thus followed the Rheims, and Wycliffe, who reads, "alle thingis weren maad bi hym."

In 2 Thess. ii, 2, the clause "as that the day of Christ is at hand" does not present the true meaning, which is "as that the day of the Lord is present." The participle denotes "present," and it is so rendered rightly in Rom. viii 38; 1 Cor. iii, 22; vii, 26; Gal. i, 4; Heb. ix, 9. The belief that the day of the Lord had come upon them was spreading in the Thessalonian Church, and many, in consequence of the delusion, had become unsettled, and had ceased to work. All the older versions have "at hand," and Wycliffe has "be nigh."

The rendering of James v, 16, "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much," is so far tautological, since to be effectual and to be of much avail are not very different. The translation gives a double sense to the participle, and the more literal rendering is, "the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, as it worketh." Tyndale has, and he has been followed in the main, "the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, if it be fervent." The Great Bible has "the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much"; the Rheims, after Wycliffe, "the continual prayer of a just man." The participle is middle, and means, as it works, or puts out its power.

The revisers were aware that words used in such a volume as theirs would win for themselves a lasting place in the language, and they therefore used great caution; their own defence being, "We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some vnequall dealing towards a great number of good English words . . . if wee should say, as it were, vnto certaine words, Stand vp higher, have a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others, of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for euer." And the English tongue is worthy of this loving guardianship. Other languages in Europe—French, Italian, and German,—have little prevalence beyond the limits

of the old territories; but England has been a "mother of nations"—her little island is but a point in comparison with her immense colonial empire, her language has been conveyed to all quarters of the globe, and there are also many millions speaking her tongue that owe her no allegiance.

The translation as a whole is excellent, and has elicited many encomiums from all classes of critics and scholars. There are some renderings equivocal, and some wrong; and a chief blemish is the want of uniformity in rendering the same terms —a liberty which was taken on purpose, for it is vindicated in the Preface.

Grimm affirms of English that "in wealth, wisdom, and strict economy none of the living languages can vie with it."[1] King James's scholarly revisers were conscious of possessing such an instrument, and their English style is above all praise. They did not give us the English of their own day, but their great merit consisted in so fully retaining the simple and racy idioms of the earlier versions. English was in its first vigour when Tyndale consecrated it in his New Testament, and its consecration has preserved it in immortal youth. The language of common life became hallowed and dignified by the service to which it had been yoked. The Authorized Version has in it the traces of its origin, and its genealogy may be reckoned. For while it has the fulness of the Bishops' without its frequent literalisms or its repeated supplements, it has the graceful vigour of the Genevan, the quiet grandeur of the Great Bible, the clearness of Tyndale, the harmonies of Coverdale, and the stately theological vocabulary of the Rheims. It has thus a complex unity in its structure—all the earlier versions ranging over eighty years having bequeathed to it contributions the individuality of which has not been in all cases toned down. Some clauses tell their origin by their lucid distinctness and others by their rhythm, some are more precise and others more easy. While some of the older terms are excluded, others are at the

[1] We may quote another and different opinion: "Did not you hear us speak? . . . I do; and surely it is a sleepy language." Tempest, Shakespeare.

same time introduced. The "cratch"[1] of the Genevan went out, but "settle"[2] came in. The revisers dropped the "pill"[3] of Tyndale, and, ignoring the Bishops', they preserve the "demand"[4] of the Great Bible in its French sense. Setting aside "strike" and "knock" of the older revisions, they introduce the picturesque rendering "tabering"[5] "on their breast." Letting go the expression "fardels"[6] of the Genevan, and not content with the "burdens" of the Bishops' and the Great Bible, they put in its room "carriages," a term quite obsolete now in their meaning of it, and they were so fond of it, that they have used it five times in the text and twice in the margin. They did not admit "disease"[7] as a verb, though it was in Biblical use, but they have "bettered"[8] in reference to malady; passing over the more familiar "platter" they give us "charger,"[9] a word in this sense long unused. Like the tree which sucks kindlier nurture from a soil enriched by its own fallen leaves, our Bible is the outgrowth of many years and many minds, the aim ever being to give to the English people, not a mere literary luxury, but a book which all ranks and classes should easily understand and enjoy.[10]

For the version must ever be admired for its simple dignity and quaint terseness, its archaic tinge, its rhythmic cadences and idiomatic felicities. It is homely but not vulgar, and musical without the aid of tawdry expletives. Having kept its place for more than two centuries and a half, it has

[1] Luke ii, 7, 12.

[2] Ezekiel xliii, 14, 17; xlv, 19. It is still a provincial or homely term.

[3] 2 Cor. xii, 17, preserved in the Bishops', "did I pill you?" but in the Authorized, "did I make a gain?"

[4] Matt. ii, 4.

[5] Nahum ii, 7, "tabring," in the first edition sometimes spelt "tabouring," allied in origin to tabret. Gen. xxxi, 27.

[6] Acts xxi, 15, "trussed up our fardels," in modern phrase, made up our packs or personal baggage.

[7] Mark v, 35, "why diseasest thou the Master?" both in the Bishops' and Genevan, after Tyndale.

[8] Mark v, 26.

[9] Matt. xiv, 8.

[10] King James, though he had Latin and Latinized Scotch at easy and ever-flowing command, yet had the good judgment and good taste to say, in the "Basilicon Doron," to his son, "Be plain and smooth in your own language."

"waxed old," but it has not "decayed." Obsolete words do occur in it, but the version, so far from being dry and dead, is fresh and living as the rod of Aaron, which on being laid up before the ark "budded and bloomed blossoms and yielded almonds." Though it may vary with the themes of the original, it never loses its identity. So quiet and clear in narrative, so direct and urgent in precept, so fervid and spiritual in the psalter, so impressive and magnificent in the prophets, it bears upon it the imagery of the Hebrew lyrics without being overborne by it, and gives earnest and impressive utterance to apostolical argument and appeal.

The spirit of all the sacred writers lives in the English translation. The immediate and fervid utterances of the Semitic temperament filled with the divine life clothe themselves as with a native fitness in our English tongue, and have for all time ennobled and sanctified it. The Bible, the creation of Hebrew genius, has proved itself adapted to universal circulation. Originating in the east, reflecting its hues and lighted up with its splendours, it has yet in the west found a welcome and a home, and has become without effort or awkwardness the natural vehicle of song and supplication to myriads of the children of Japhet. The syllables of the Lord's prayer drop gently from the lips of a child; and they fill the mouth of an "aged disciple." Many who are strangers to the spiritual power of the English Bible bow to its literary beauties. The charm and tenderness of the parables are not lost by difference of language—the evangelists speak as touchingly in English as in Greek.

Exception has indeed been taken to the translation of the Old Testament on account of some literal renderings of Hebrew clauses and epithets, as if they were "abhorrent" from the English idiom. But not a few Hebrew phrases are now deeply imbedded in our language, and from familiarity with them no one feels that they are foreign, such as "God of peace," "God of all grace," "Father of lights," "Sun of righteousness," "Son of peace," "man of sin," "robe of righteousness," "song of songs," "ways of pleasantness," "oil

of gladness," "trees of Jehovah," "man of sorrows," "Son of man," "the Ark of thy strength," "Rock of Ages," a favourite phrase of a favourite hymn, is a literal translation in the margin of Isaiah xxvi, 4, the text having a far feebler rendering, "everlasting strength." But while they so often preserve or imitate some Hebrew idioms, they have no small merit in rendering others into terse and felicitous English. Especially in the frequent instances of an infinitive construct in combination with its own finite verb, they have shown ingenious versatility. This combination indicated certainty in reference to a past act: Gen. xxvi, 28, "we saw *certainly* that the Lord was with thee"; Exod. iii, 7, "I have *surely* seen"; 1 Sam. ii, 30, "I said *indeed*."

The idiom is also intensive, and they render it in various ways:—

Gen. ii, 16, "thou mayest *freely* eat"; iii, 4, "ye shall not *surely* die"; and similarly xviii, 18, xx, 7, and xxviii, 22; xxxi, 30, "thou wouldest *needs* be gone, because thou *sore* longest."

Exod. iv, 14, "he can speak *well*."

Josh. xxiii, 13, "know *for a certainty*."

2 Sam. xvii, 16, "but *speedily* pass over"; xx, 18, "they *were wont* to speak."

1 Chron. iv, 10, "O that thou wouldest bless me *indeed*."

Esther iv, 14, "if thou *altogether* holdest thy peace."

Job vi, 2, "O that my grief were *thoroughly* weighed."

Isaiah xxiv, 20, "the earth shall reel *to and fro*."

Jeremiah xxiii, 17, "they say *still*"; 32, "they shall not profit *at all*"; 39, "I will *utterly* forget you"; xxv, 30, "he shall *mightily* roar"; xxxi, 20, "I do *earnestly* remember."

Ezek. i, 3, "the word of the Lord came *expressly*."

Clauses coupled, as they usually are, by the simple conjunction would be bald in English, and therefore a particle supplying a subordinate or logical connection is often employed.

Gen. xv, 2, "what wilt thou give me, *seeing* I go childless."

Exod. v, 18, "no straw given you, *yet* shall ye deliver"; xvii, 2, "give us water *that* we may drink."

Num. iv, 15, "they shall not touch the holy things *lest* they die."

Josh. iii, 13, "when ye see the ark of the covenant. . . . *then* ye shall remove."

Ruth i, 11, "are there yet sons in my womb *that* may be your husbands?" iii, 13, "if he will not do the part of a kinsman, *then* I will."

Prov. xxv, 25, "as cold water . . . *so* is good news."

Similar idioms they also render as happily: Gen. viii, 5, "the waters decreased *continually*"; 7, "which went forth *to and fro*"; xii, 9, "going on *still*"; Jerem. xli, 6, "weeping *all along*"; 2 Sam. iii, 16, "went with her *along* weeping"; v, 10, "David went on and grew *great*"; 1 Chron. xi, 9, "David waxed *greater* and *greater*." The idiom made by son or daughter or lord they often do not give literally, as sons of sheep, sons of lightning, sons of the bow, lord of a woman, for such literal translation would have seemed as a foreign idiom. The repetition of a noun is well rendered: as two-two by "two and two"; day-day, by "every day"; six wings six wings, by "each one had six wings"; Deut. xxv, 13, "thou shalt not have in thy bag a stone and a stone"—"divers measures"—occurring also in Prov. xx, 23; Psalms xii, 2, "an heart and an heart" is rendered "a double heart." In such cases the literal rendering is put in the margin—"perfect peace," "peace, peace," Isaiah xxvi, 3. The phrase literally "good in the eyes of" is rendered "as it pleaseth," "as it liketh," "what he thought good," "as it seemeth good," "if he think good."

In the New Testament they show similar devices. The verb which is commonly rendered "seek" they vary by the translation, "go about to," John vii, 19, 20, Acts xxi, 31, and by "were about to" in xxvii, 30. One particle [1] is rendered as the context suggests, "and," or "but," or "now," or "so," or "moreover," or "even" in Philip. ii, 8, or it is omitted altogether. They also vary another particle,[2] though not always correctly, "and," "even, "also," "but," "then," "so," "yet," "when," "therefore," "if." To have kept the Greek participle uniformly in English would have made the ver-

[1] δέ. [2] καί.

sion intolerably heavy—it is therefore often resolved into a finite verb, a resolution which takes place in nearly every verse in the second chapter of Matthew. This method is not so accurate when participle and verb mark a contemporaneous act. We have in Matt. ix, 2, "Jesus seeing their faith said," though it is differently rendered in Luke v, 20, "when he saw their faith." In Matt. xii, 15, the better rendering would be, "but Jesus knowing it withdrew"—the knowledge being that of his own divine omniscience; and similarly in Matt. xvi, 8. Their ordinary method is reversed in Luke xxii, 15, the more literal rendering being kept in the text, "with desire I have desired," and the usual form transferred to the margin, "I have heartily desired"; and similarly Acts vii, 34, "I have seen, I have seen," Jer. xxiii, 25.

Their own style, as seen in their learned and very elaborate preface, was somewhat pedantic and cumbrous, and wanted the lithe and easy turns of an earlier age, but they did not employ it. Not that in their version they altogether

> "Against Apollo's lute decreed,
> And gave it for Pan's oaten reed."

But the English of their Bible is especially Saxon. Saxon prevails in most of the verses; but Latin occasionally, though rarely, predominates in others, as in Isaiah l, 1,[1] Jer. xxxi, 25,[2] in Luke vi, 49, as in each of its last three clauses is a Latin term,[3] and in 2 Cor. ix, 13, there are five Latin terms.[4] In the familiar twenty-third psalm five verses have each a non-English word and the fifth verse has no less than five Latin terms. On the other hand "now" occurs three times in Acts xxvii, 9—the first instance might have been easily dispensed with; the pronoun "she" occurs five times in Luke viii, 47; "shall" is used four times in Matt. xiii, 14; and "should" four times

[1] Divorcement, creditors, iniquities, transgressions; usurer—standing for creditor in the Bishops' and the Great Bible

[2] Satiate, replenish.

[3] Vehement, immediately, ruin.

[4] Experiment, ministration, glory, professed, subjection.

in Matt. xiii, 15; the strange collocation "this, that this" occurs in Matt. xxvi. 13; "that that" is found in Num. vi, 21, Dan. xi, 36, Zech. xi, 9, John xxi, 23, in the two latter places taken from the Bishops'.[1] The unusual connection, "when they had this done," meets us in Luke v, 6. The proportion of Saxon to Latin words in it is over ninety per cent, while in Shakespeare it is about eighty-five, in Swift eighty-nine, in Johnson only about seventy-five, and in Gibbon about seventy per cent. The Lord's Prayer as given in St. Matthew consists of sixty-five words exclusive of the transferred Amen. Of these words fifty-nine are Saxon as against six Latin ones. Nay, the first five and thirty words are all Saxon in succession.[2] But while the preponderance of Saxon terms is so great, they did not scruple to press Latin terms into their service when they were deemed necessary to compactness and strength. They have "succour" as well as "help," "misery" as well as "wretchedness" which occurs only once, "intercession" as well as "pleading" which occurs only twice. They use both "act" and "deed," "similitude" and "likeness," "power" and "might," "justice" and "righteousness," "marriage" and "wedding," "transgression" and "sin," "desert" and "wilderness," "testimony" and "witness," "tabernacle" and "tent," "equity" and "righteousness," "remission" and "forgiveness." In the same way are found "kingly" and "royal," "death" and "mortal," "flesh" and "carnal," "gentile" and "heathen," "charity" and "love," "distil" and "drop," "sanctify" and "hallow," "conceal" and "hide," "timely" and "early," "chief" and "head," "obscurity" and "darkness," "sufficient" and "enough," "labour" and "work,"

[1] In three sentences of the Pilgrim's Progress "but" occurs six times. Milton ridicules Bishop Hall for writing "Teach each."

[2] Gifford notes, "There was a book much read by our ancestors, from which, as being the pure well-head of English prose, they derived a number of phrases which have sorely puzzled their descendants. This book, which is fortunately still in existence, is the Bible, and I venture to affirm without fear of contradiction that those old-fashioned people who have studied it well are as competent judges of the meaning of our ancient writers as most of the devourers of black literature from Theobald to Stevens." Gifford's Massinger, p. 58, London, 1853.

"castle" and "hold." They were fastidious, however, in their admission of Latin terms. Many words much in use now and occurring only once in Shakespeare are not found in Scripture at all—as abrupt, ambiguous, artless, improbable, improper, impure, and inconvenient. But by a happy instinct of selection they admitted such terms as "ambassador" and "operation," though Swift objects to them along with "preliminaries," "speculation," &c.; and they have taken "temperance," which Elyot in 1534 regarded as modern, "destruction" though Fulke branded it, "austere" though in 1601 Holland thought it necessary to explain it; and "element," though Shakespeare plays with it as a word "overworn." But they did not admit a word so common now as "character"[1] though it occurs so often in Shakespeare; and they refused "adore," "elevation," "accommodate," the last term being ridiculed by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson; and though they employed the Latin "compassion," they did not take "sympathy," though the word in its Greek form occurred twice in their text, but the term meant sometimes at that period "equality of station." "Learn" does not occur in an active sense, though it is found several times in the Bishops' and the Prayer Book version of the Psalms, and was in common use.[2] Many terms occur only once, not simply technical words, but such as the following from a foreign source: Abjects, addicted, advisement, advocate, agony, aided, allege, allegory, arouse, amiable, amerce, ancestors, assist, argument, averse, benefactor, benevolence, bravery, bray, brawling, celestial, chapel, chafed, chant, clemency, cogitation, commodious, contribution, comparable, condescend, congratulate, concert, decease (as an intransitive and as a neuter verb), delectable, decently, depend, descry, debase,

[1] Wotton says, "Now here then will lie the whole businesse, to set down beforehand certain Signatures of Hopefulnesse, or Characters as I will rather call them, because that word hath gotten already some entertainment among us."

[2] But a more adventurous translator than they has transferred a participle in Matt. ii, 7, and also changed it into a noun, his rendering being, "Enquired exactly of them the time of the phenomenon of the star." Bowes' Translation, Dundee, 1870.

demonstration, discipline, disclose, displayed, disfigure, dispatch, disgrace, enable, endure, empire, endow, ensue, entire, environ, erect, eternity (once in text, three times in margin), exchanger (banker), exercise, as a noun, forfeit, frankly (gratuitously, Luke vii, 42), ignominy, illuminate, imperious, implead, importunity, incredible, infallible, intelligence, laud, magnifical, magnificence, million, modesty, monument, misused, mutual, news, object (verb), oration, pernicious, potentate, protection, pursue, putrifying, quantity, rare, rase, reasonable (rational), recall, recount, redound, reformation, renounced, repliest, resemble (as an active verb), renounce, repeateth, rifled, rites (but twice also in the margin), schism, servitors, senses, severity, strain, temporal, terrestrial, tranquillity, transferred, treatise, unction, vent, vouch, voyage. They ventured on "purtenance" but once, Exodus xii, 9, though the word is found in Tyndale and Coverdale;[1] they admit "expiation" "echo," and "compose" only once into the margin, and the common theological term "type" is also excluded from the text, and found only in the margin. On the other hand many Saxon terms used in Shakespeare and not occurring in Scripture have become obsolete,[2] and many of his Latin terms not accepted by our translators have passed out of currency. The following words in the Version, mostly native, are found only once: Ado, aloof, badness, bestead, bestir, betake, blaze

[1] The phrase "saddle me the ass" is sometimes supposed to be a common idiom with an expletive word, but "me" is in this case the literal rendering of the pronoun in the Hebrew text "for me."

[2] Such as "faith'd," "scaling" for weighing, "able" as a verb, "entertain," to take into service, "cheer" face, "brief" letter, "dern" lonely, "yclad," "yclept," "bate," "birthdom." Similarly such Latin words as "sense" for sensual passion, "absolute" for perfect, "fine" for end, "mure" for wall, "tuition" for defence, "fracted" for broken; "lot," "period," and "monster" as verbs; "testimonied," "concent" for harmony, "affront" to meet with, "acture" for action, &c. In Cockeram's English Dictionarie, or interpreter of hard English words, &c. (London, 1632), it is said that "abate," which occurs four times in the Version, is a word now out of use, and only used of some ancient writers. Neither the Bible nor Milton in his poetry uses a word now so familiar as "commence."

belch (and once in the margin), belief, bide, boisterous, bolled, bloom, border (as a verb), bought (as a noun in the margin), cabins, chapmen, dandled, deemed, flash, forecast, gaddest, gulf, huge, outlived, outran, outlandish, outwent, pate, pathway, pilled, rests (as a noun, margin "rebatement"), right early, right well, road, shapen, swerve, unspoken, untoward, well nigh.[1]

Reference was made in the previous course of the narrative to the Latin paper handed in by the English divines to the Synod of Dort, giving an account of the process of revision which had produced a version "so very accurate." The royal rules prescribed[2] to the revisers are here reduced to seven, and four of these seven are upon matters not alluded to in the original fourteen, while the first, second, and fourth coincide with the first, sixth, and seventh of the earlier canons. Probably those new rules had sprung from the necessities of the work, or had been naturally suggested as the work advanced. These newer regulations, affording daily guidance to the various companies, were fresh in the memory of the delegates: while the others, issued in 1604, containing ultimate laws or principles, had faded somewhat out of view.

The fifth rule of the seven quoted at Dort took up the Apocrypha—"that in the translation of Tobit and Judith, as there was great difference between the Greek and the old Vulgate text, the Greek text should rather be followed."[3]

Considerable license was taken in revising the Apocrypha, as probably they had no belief in the inspiration of its books. The following words and phrases occurring in it are not found in the canonical portions of Scripture: Abashed, abridge,

[1] The affectation of using fine terms in a version of Scripture is not confined to England, though Lowth and Campbell are occasionally touched by it. About the period of the Nicene Council, a noted preacher in Cyprus, in a quotation from the Gospels, eschewed κράββατον and preferred σκίμπους, "couch" to "bed." The famous Bishop Spiridion being in the audience, at once cried out to him, "Are you better than he that said 'bed' that you are ashamed to use his words?" Stanley's Eastern Church, p. 108. The incident is also referred to in the translators' preface.

[2] See pp. 191, 201.

[3] Sessio VII.

adore, adherent, aim, amain, anew, annoy, apparition, attempt, augmentation, brickle, baggage, canopy, carrs, clubs, cocker (to pamper), commentaries, conduct (meaning safe conduct), conjecture, counterfeit, culture, defective, defray, distinguish (once in margin, 1 Cor. iv, 7), echo, enforce, enterprise, everlastingness, exquisite, voyage (Jud. ii, 19), fact, falls (as a plural noun), favoureth, feat, fear (to terrify), forlorn, graces, gratify, immunities, incredulity, impiety, indifferent, invincible, jollity, justices, loyal, magi, mitigate, niggard, outroad, penalty, pleasure (as a verb), reconcilement, resolute, shrewd (a "shrewd turn" or clever retaliation), submissively, unright, thrive, timorous, trace, tyrant, tender (to feel tenderness), wearing, uneasy (in the sense of difficult), importable, ugly, and such phrases as "well is him" (Eccles. xxv, 8, 9), "take example at," "get the day," "other some," "he sticks not," "not for our turn," "make him away," "the party," that is, an individual—"the man or the woman," "curious," four times in the sense of "inquisitive," "within the liberties," "took no good order," "sour behaviour," "held them battle," "laugh upon," "shall ripe," "will fat," "pensions—to all who kept the city," "at the last gasp," &c.

The marginal notes in the Apocrypha are freer in character than those of the Old Testament. The translators had the Septuagint of Aldus, that in the Complutensian Polyglott, and the Codex Vaticanus printed in Rome 1586. But as the text was not in a satisfactory state, they were obliged to set down no less than 154 various readings. They bracketed as spurious Eccles. i, 7, though the Bishops' had admitted it, and also Eccles. xvii, 5, they marked in a similar way. There are 138 notes for the purpose of giving more literally or precisely the sense of the original Greek or Latin.[1] There are in the margin also 174 variations given of the spelling of proper names, 167 of which belong to 1 Esdras; and there are 505 alternative renderings, with other 42 notes designed to impart information. They depart from their practice in the Old

[1] They had only a Latin text of 2 Esdras. The different readings, with the authorities, are lucidly and fully given by Dr. Scrivener, Cambridge Paragraph Bible, Introduction, p. xxvii, &c.

Testament by quoting authorities, not only Josephus, but Herodotus, Pliny, Athanasius, the Latin interpreter, and Junius the translator. For the text they refer at Tobit xiv, 5, 18, to the "Roman copie"; also 1 Mac. ix, 9, and xii, 37, where it is called the "Roman reading."

Geddes, the Catholic critic, an admirer of Castalio, objects to such biblical Saxon compounds as "therefore," "wherefore," "therein," "wherein"—"'wherein' being the only tolerable, decent gentleman of the family"; and Hume, expressing a strong antipathy to the use of *th* as the termination of the third person singular of verbs, also brands "wherewith" as an old-fashioned dangling word, as "having no harmony, no eloquence, no ornament, and not much correctness, whatever the English may imagine," and swears "that he would not swallow it," though Robertson and Swift are so partial to it. But these idiomatic vocables are so useful and expressive that they cannot be dispensed with. These criticisms of the scholar and historian betray their northern origin, for in the self-training of such men (whose dialect in boyhood was Scotch) to write good English, there mingled unconsciously the desire to be more Attic in its use than those whose mother tongue it was.[1]

There are also in the English Bible many native monosyllables; nouns, verbs, and particles, which in their common or idiomatic use give directness, clearness, and harmony to the clauses, which are not only comprehended at once, but fix themselves in the memory and linger in the ear like an echo or the refrain of a song.[2] What is scholastic has no place in it; it uses "great plainness of speech," and so utters itself that all may "mark, learn, and inwardly digest." It is a stranger to "inkhorn terms" and to classical intricacies of construction, for in Hebrew and in New Testament Greek ideas occur in coordinate succession and are not ranged round or subordinated

[1] Yet Hume could write in reference to Cato and Brutus, "the leisure of these noble antients *were* employed in the study of Grecian eloquence."

[2] There are five lines and a half in Shakespeare consisting of about 40 words, and of those only five are not monosyllables. Macbeth, vol. VII, p. 15, ed. Dyce.

to one central thought which is gradually evolved. So that a true version preserving the form as well as the spirit of the original could not have been made, in the style of Hooker,[1]

> "With many a winding bout
> Of linked sweetness long drawn out."

It was guarded against the euphuism of an earlier period, with its antitheses, alliterations, sounding epithets, and circuitous politeness of diction, "drawing out the thread of verbosity finer than the staple of argument." Nor was it tainted with such mannerisms as were current some years afterwards, and were beginning to appear in 1611; and the English of Evelyn, Temple, or Jeremy Taylor would have been wholly out of place.

A special theological nomenclature had been provided for the revisers in the previous translations. What was wanted now was the clothing of the divine oracles in the genial and familiar tongue elevated only by its sacred use from that of ordinary life. Some words of a former period that were passing away they preserved, and words only coming in and not fully welcomed they did not admit. The marks of age upon the version are like the hoary locks of the prophet, giving him a reverential grandeur. As in Dryden's canon, "the court, the college, and the town are all joined" in it. So free is it from

[1] Becon has "immarcessible," "amplexed," "precordial." Hooker has "learnedest," "virtuousest," &c., "wiselier," "easilier," and "powerable" for "powerful." Ascham has "inventivest," and Bacon uses similar forms. Jeremy Taylor has "funest," "claucularly," "contrition" in its literal sense as applied to the doom of the serpent. Hooker also couples native and foreign terms —"rectitude" and "straightness," "coecity" and "blindness," "sense" and "meaning." Such collocations are frequent in the Book of Common Prayer of the time of Edward VI, and indicate at that early period the two great sources of the language. These still occur: "Acknowledge" and "confess," "pray" and "beseech," "erred" and "strayed," "vanquish" and "overcome," "trust" and "confidence," "holiness" and "pureness," "remission" and "forgiveness," "create" and "make in us," "weighed" and "pondered," "valour" and "price," "prepare" and "make ready."

many of those usages that mark or characterize any special literary epoch, that it has amidst all changing fashions maintained itself as a standard for two hundred and sixty years among all peoples using our island speech. For the English Bible is endowed with a wondrous universality of adaptation. To men of intellect and culture its lucid simplicity of style brings relief, and it appears to them like the blue sky overhead, which, while it reveals much, gives a glimpse into much more behind it. It has been recited in academic halls, lordly towers, and royal palaces; and no element of vulgarity has been felt in it, nay, the graceful popularity of its language has been its special charm and fascination. It has been read in barns and miserable outhouses to earnest and untutored rustics, and as it spoke to them in their own tongue, they realized the presence of divinity, and listened to the voice of God. Though its English differed from the more familiar dialect of the olden time on this side of the Tweed, it was carried joyously to moors and glens in Scotland, and listened to as the immediate revelation of the Almighty, by bands of worshippers crowded into some spot under the shadow of a great hill, while the eagle sailed above them, and the music of the waterfall was the accompaniment of their song.

Such in general is the style of the Authorized Version, and it remains a noble specimen of the variety, richness, elasticity, and power of the English language, about which an Elizabethan bard ventured to sing—

> "And who in time knows whither we may vent
> The treasures of our tongue? to what strange shores
> This gain of our best glory shall be sent
> T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What worlds in th' yet unformèd occident
> May 'come refin'd with accents that are ours?"

The beginning of the seventeenth century was propitious to the execution of such a work. Mulcaster had said, in 1582, "I take this present period of our English tung to be the verie height thereof, because I find it so excellently well fined both for the

bodie and tung itself, and for the customary writing thereof, as either foren workmanship can giue it glosse, or as home-wrought handling can giue it grace." "The English tong cannot prove fairer than it is at this date, if it may please our learned sort so to esteeme it and to bestow their travell upon such a subject."[1] The true dialect, according to Puttenham, is not "in effect any speech used beyond the river of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so courtly nor so current as our Southern English is; no more is the far Western man's speech; ye shall therefore take the usual speech of the court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above. I say not this but in every shire of England there be gentlemen and others that speak, but specially write, as good Southern as we of Middlesex or Surrey do; but not the common people of every shire, to whom the gentlemen and also their learned clerks do for the most part condescend; but herein we are ruled by the English dictionaries and other books written by learned men; and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalf. Albeit peradventure some small admonition be not impertinent, for we find in our English writers many words and speeches amendable; and ye shall see in some many inkhorn terms so ill affected, brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolmasters; and many strange terms of other languages, by secretaries and merchants and travellers; and many dark words, and not usual nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken in court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choice be good." . . . . "Of this number are 'scientific,' 'conduict'—a French word, but well allowed of us, and long since usual; it sounds something more than this word (leading), for it is applied only to the leading of a captain, and not as a little boy should lead a blind man; 'idiom,' from the Greek; 'significative,' borrowed of the Latin and French, but to us brought in first by some nobleman's secretary, as I think, yet doth so well serve the turn as it could not now be spared;

[1] Elémentarie, p. 189, London.

and many more like usurped Latin and French words, as 'method, methodical, placation, function, assubtiling, refining, compendious, prolix, figurative, inveigle'—a term borrowed of our common lawyers; 'impression,' also a new term, but well expressing the matter, and more than our English word; 'penetrate, penetrable, indignity' (in the sense of unworthiness), and a few more."[1]

By the middle of the century, in 1662, Swift expresses the opinion that the English language had grown corrupt since the Restoration. Evelyn thought it necessary to explain such technical terms in his Sylva, 1664, as homogeneous, mural, perennial, vernal; and others which he did not condescend to explain as being "obvious" are lapidescent, insititious, politure, stramental, procerity, improsperity, surbated, subductitious, &c.[2] But Fuller, a native of Northamptonshire, mentions that the language of the common people[3] in that county is generally the best of any shire in England. When he was a boy he had been told by a "hand labouring man" "that the last translation of the Bible done by those learned men in the best English agreeth perfectly with the common speech of our country."

[1] Art of Poesy, bk. iii, 1589.

[2] The following words appear in a recent volume of Transatlantic Sermons: Acerb, avertness, basilar, effulges, sapid, resurrected, inwardness, vacuous, salacious, ministration of faculty, &c.

[3] Worthies of England, vol. II, p. 496, London, 1840.

The motto at the beginning of the section is from the pen of the late F. W. Faber, and is taken from his "Essay on the Interest and Characteristics of the Lives of the Saints." London, 1853.

CHAPTER XLV.

BUT in the course of two centuries and a half some words have become obsolete, some have changed their signification, and the meaning of others has grown obscure and unfamiliar. It is, at the same time, a remarkable peculiarity that many terms have kept their place because they occur in the text of the Bible, and that others have fallen out of use because they are found only in the margin or in the contents prefixed to each chapter. The third of the Rules delivered by the English divines to the Synod of Dort is, "that when a Hebrew or Greek word admits of two proper senses, one should be expressed in the text and the other in the margin."[1] The following list indicates an attempt to present in the margin a literal rendering of the original, and those marginal renderings are for the most part not now in currency:—

Margin.	Text.	
Whetter.	Instructor.	Gen. iv, 22.
Ascending of the morning.	Breaking of the day.	Gen. xxxii, 24.
Eunuch.	Officer.	Gen. xxxvii, 36.
Chief of the slaughtermen.	Captain of the guard.	Gen. xxxvii, 36.
Tentation.	Massah.	Exodus xvii, 7.
Surplusage.	That which remaineth.	Exodus xxvi, 13.
Twinned.	Coupled.	Exodus xxvi, 24.
On a slice.	In a pan.	Levit. ii, 5.
Faulty to die.	Guilty of death.	Num. xxxv, 31.
Thou shalt not bough it.	Thou shalt not go over the boughs again.	Deut. xxiv, 20.
Dungy gods.	Idols.	Deut. xxix, 17.

[1] See p. 201.

Margin.	Text.	
Doth his easement.	Covereth his feet.	Judges iii, 24.
Till the day declined.	Till the afternoon.	Judges xix, 8.
The pitching time of day.	The day groweth to an end.	Judges xix, 9.
And he circuited.	Went in circuit.	1 Sam. vii, 16.
Forbear us.	Give us respite.	1 Sam. xi, 3.
Battle array.	The fight.	1 Sam. xvii, 20.
Bought of a sling.	The middle of a sling.	1 Sam. xxv, 29.
Hath a pursuit.	He is pursuing.	1 Kings, xviii, 27.
Minister.	Servant.	2 Kings vi, 15.
To rafter.	To floor.	2 Chron. xxxiv, 11.
The eyelids of the morning.	The dawning of the day.	Job iii, 9.
Dredge.	Corn.	Job xxiv, 6.
Chanelbone (collar bone.)	The bone.	Job xxxi, 22.
Fallings.	Flakes.	Job xli, 23.
Gladded him.	Made him glad.	Ps. xxi, 6.
Roll thy way.	Commit thy way.	Ps. xxxvii, 5.
Wearied.	Troubled.	Ps. xxxviii, 6.
For the rulings.	To rule.	Ps. cxxxvi, 8.
Changers.	Them that are given to change.	Prov. xxiv, 21.
Iterateth.	Returneth to.	Prov. xxvi, 11.
Righten.	Relieve.	Isaiah i, 17.
Sweet balls.	Chains.	Isaiah iii, 19.
Spangled ornaments.	Mufflers.	Isaiah iii, 19.
Exactress of gold.	Golden city.	Isaiah xiv, 4.
Wringer.	Extortioner.	Isaiah xvi, 4.
From the thrum.	With pining sickness.	Isaiah xxxviii, 12.
Through-aired.	Large (chambers.)	Jerem. xxii, 14.
Convent (as a verb.)	Appoint.	Jerem. xlix, 19.
Flit gretly.	Get you far off.	Jerem. xlix, 30.
Strakes.	Rings.	Ezek. i, 18.
Endirons.	Hooks.	Ezek. xl, 43.
Concision or threshing.	Decision.	Joel iii, 14.
Palmcrist.	Gourd.	Jonah iv, 6.
Gallants.	Worthies.	Nahum ii, 5.
Covering or coverer.	Defence.	Nahum ii, 5.
Flue net.	Drag.	Hab. i, 15.
With one shoulder.	With one consent.	Zeph. iii, 9.
Him that waketh and him that answereth.	Master and scholar.	Mal. ii, 12.
Observation.	Ordinance.	Mal. iii, 14.
Away.	Let us alone.	Luke iv, 34.
Persuasible.	Enticing.	1 Cor. ii, 4.

Margin.	Text.	
Gallings one of another.	Perverse disputings.	1 Tim. vi, 5.
Makebates.	False accusers.	2 Tim. iii, 3.
Profess honest trades.	Maintain good works.	Titus iii, 14.
Taketh not hold of.	Took not on him the nature.	Heb. ii, 16.
Interposed himself.	Confirmed it.	Heb. vi, 17.
Way to change his mind.	Place of repentance.	Heb. xii, 17.
Add it to the prayers.	Offer it with the prayers.	Rev. viii, 3.

There are also in the margin not a few plural terms, which have not come into use at all, but were chosen on purpose to represent literally some plurals in the original. Holinesses, Exodus xl, 10; greatnesses, 1 Chron. xvii, 19; equities, Prov. i, 3; secrecies, Prov. ix, 17; frowardnesses, Prov. x, 32; righteousnesses, Isaiah xxxiii, 15; uprightnesses, Isaiah xxxiii, 15; prosperities, Jerem. xxii, 21; bitternesses, Lam. iii, 15; vengeances, Ezek. xxv, 17.

Where the translation has a slight paraphrase the margin renders the Hebrew occasionally by terms which have slipped out of view. "Escaper," 2 Kings ix, 15; "praisers," 2 Chron. xx, 21; "raiser," Hosea vii, 4; "rangers," 1 Chron. xii, 33.

In their own preface the revisers use words and phrases which they did not venture to put into the translation.

In the contents prefixed to the chapters are not a few words and phrases which have wholly or nearly passed away. In the choice of them the revisers were not in any way influenced by a desire to give the exact equivalent of the original, as is done so often in the margin, but they employed familiar phraseology. Many of the terms and phrases which they employed have not survived, but others are specimens of old and pithy English. Gen. xxx, "Laban stayeth him"; xvii, "Abraham his name is changed"; xix, "the incestuous original of Moab"; xxiv, "Abraham sweareth his servant"; xxix, "taketh acquaintance"; xliii, "Jacob is hardly persuaded to send Benjamin"; l, "Joseph dieth and is chested" (a word common still in the rural parts of Scotland). Levit. xxvi, "religiousness." Deut. vii, "assuredness." Josh. ii, "the spies, their return and relation" (that is report); x, "the five

kings are mured in a cave." 1 Sam. iii, "groweth in credit"; xiv, "unwitting to his father"; xxx, "by means of a revived Egyptian he is brought to the enemies." 2 Sam. ix, "he maketh Ziba his farmer." 1 Kings i, "Adonijah, David's darling usurpeth"; xii, "a suit of relaxation." 2 Kings xvi, "diverteth the brazen altar to his own devotion." 2 Chron. xxviii, "Judah being captivated by the Israelites." Esther v, "Haman builded a pair of gallows." Job i, "by calumniation"; v, "inconsideration"; xxxii, "reproveth them for not satisfying of Job"; xxxviii, "God . . . convinceth Job of imbecility"; Psalms iv, "David prayeth for audience"; v, "professeth his study in prayer"; xxxix, "impatiency"; lxxxvi, "by the conscience of his religion"; cxlvii, "power over the meteors." Pro. viii, "evidency"; vii, "a young wanton." Isaiah iii, "impudency"; ix, "impenitency"; xiv, "insultation over Babel"; xviii, "an access thereby shall grow"; xxviii, "God's discreet providence"; xlv, "convinceth the idols of vanity"; liii, "excuseth the scandal of the cross." Jerem. xxxvi, "they will Baruch to hide himself"; xxxix, "the city ruinated, the people captivated"; xlix, "the restoration of Elam." Mal. i, "irreligiousness." Matt. i, "the misdeeming thoughts of Joseph"; xi, "unrepentance"; xxii, "Christ poseth the Pharisees"; Mark x, "resolveth a rich man how he may inherit eternal life"; xii, "resolveth the scribe who questioned the first commandment." Luke ii, "questioneth with the doctors"; v, likeneth faint hearted and weak disciples to "old bottles and worn garments"; xxii, "dehorteth." John xix, "being overcome with the outrage of the Jews." Acts xv, "Paul and Barnabas fall at strife"; vi, "appoint the office of deaconship to seven men"; xxvii, "Paul shipping toward Rome." Rom. v, "sith we were reconciled," but also in the text of Ezek. xxxv, 6; xiii "works of darkness are out of season in the time of the gospel." 1 Cor. xiii, "prelation of charity before faith and hope"; xiv, "the abuse taxed"; xvi, "shutteth up his epistle." 2 Cor. x, "who disgraced the weakness of his person" (spoke in ridicule and contempt of it); x, "against all adversary powers." 2 Tim. iv, "willeth him to come

speedily unto him." Titus iii, "directed by Paul concerning . . . . he is willed also to reject obstinate heretics." James v, "we ought . . . to reduce a straying brother to the truth." Heb. iii, "more worthy punishment"; x, "the law sacrifices." 1 Peter i, "salvation in Christ no news" (novelty). 2 Peter i, "whereof he is careful to remember them." 1 John ii, "He comforteth them against the sins of infirmity"; iv, "we are to try the spirits by the rule of the Catholick faith."

There are also some obsolete terms in the text of the Authorized Version; some words gone wholly out of use, or that are rarely employed, and others that now carry a different signification. The following have almost or wholly ceased to be in use:—Tabret, artillery in the sense of an archer's weapons, dulcimer, sackbut, scrip, knops, ouches, bosses, taches, leasing, pate, shine, earing—ploughing, brigandine, hard to for hard by, with—a twig or chord, emerods, scrabbled, habergeon, swaddle, wench, wimple, sherd as a simple term, "breaches" for "creeks," "fat" for "vat," "charger" in the sense of a "capacious dish,"[1] "chambering" for "lechery," "coasts" for "borders," "room" for "place," "hardness" for "hardship," "dure" for "endure," "defenced" for "fenced," "entreat" for "treat," "minish" for "diminish." "camp" for "encamp," "endamage" for "damage," "gazing-stock," "taken with the manner," in the act, a law phrase which occurs also in Shakespeare, Num. v, 13; "ray" for "array," "ware" for "aware," "tire" as an article of female headdress, so that "attired" is properly used of Aaron wearing his mitre, Leviticus xvi, 4; "changeable suits" in the sense of festal garments, changed or put off when the festival is over; "estate" meaning "state" or "company," Acts xxii, 5; "estates" meaning "persons high in authority," Mark vi, 21,[2] "resemble" as an active verb,

[1] But Macaulay uses it—"Many of these (the royalist party) mortgaged their land, pawned their jewels, and broke up their silver chargers and christening bowls." History of England, vol. I, p. 113.

[2] Barclay, "Ship of Fools," says that his language was "for rude people much more convenient than for estates, learned men, or eloquent."

Luke xiii, 18; "white" in an active sense, Mark ix, 3; "equal" as an active verb, Lam. ii, 13; "convert" as a transitive verb, used only once of a human agent, James v, 19, 20, and once of the Divine law, Ps. xix, and once in an intransitive sense, Isaiah vi, 10; "ragged" in the sense of "rugged," Isai. ii, 21; "strike" his hand, to move over or up and down, 2 Kings v, 11; "book," libellus, a formal accusation, Job xxxi, 35; "ambassage" as so spelt; "the concision," a satirical term for the circumcision, Phil. iii, 2; "delicates," Jer. xli, 34; "throughly," Ps. li, 2; "translate" in the sense of transfer, 2 Sam. iii, 10; "he thought scorn," Esther iii, 6; "vial," a goblet; "draught," a sink; "let," to hinder, Isaiah xliii, 13, 2 Thes. ii, 7; "worse liking," Dan. i, 10; "all to" in the sense of thoroughly, "all to brake his skull," Judges ix, 53 (a common idiom in the older writers, occurring also in Milton's Comus); "listed," Matt. xvii, 12; "lively," living, 1 Peter ii, 5; "undersetters," props, 1 Kings vii, 30; "going forth" as a noun meaning outlet, Ezek. xliv, 5; "Jehoram departed without being desired," or regretted, 2 Chron. xxi, 20—"swelling," 2 Cor. xii, 20, used in an ethical sense; "matter," material or fuel, James iii, 5; "noisome," not disgusting, but, according to its origin, noxious, Ps. xci, 3; "injurious," insolent, 1 Tim. i, 13; "discover" would now be uncover, Ps. xxix, 9; "either" is two considered separately;—"on either side of the river" (Rev. xxii, 2),[1] means, according to old use, on the one and on the other side. The usage is common; it was no slip, and no novelty, as it is found in Lev. x, 1; John xix, 18; "each" would now be not more correct, but only more intelligible English; Exodus ix, 31, "bolled," podded, perhaps allied to bell, as holpen to help; "blains" yet survives in chil-blains. "Matrix," in the low Latin sense of womb, is not in currency; nor "cleave to" in the sense of adhere, Acts xi, 23; nor "tablet" meaning beads or amulets, Exodus xxxv, 22; nor "botch" with the sense of boil; nor "burst" with that of break; nor "base" with that of mean in appearance; nor

[1] Tennyson has—

"On either side the river lie
Long fields of barley and of rye."

"bunch" with that of hump (Isaiah xxx, 6), in reference to a camel. "For to," "but and if," "sirs," "handiwork," "afore," "silverling," "shroud" (Ezek. xxxi, 3), shadow produced by the thick foliage, "comely" with a spiritual reference (Ps. xxxiii, 1), "lightly" in the sense of speedily or soon (Mark ix, 39), "be at a stay," (Levit. xiii, 5) "lewd" as meaning lay or unlearned, are not in present employment. "Worship" has now the thinner meaning of honour—"thou shalt have worship," Luke xiv, 10, as in Wycliffe, "worsehipe thi fader and thi moder," Mark vii, 10; or John xii, 26, "if any man serve me my fader shall worship him."

Some words and phrases, though unusual now, are easily understood; are, in short, innocent archaisms, and give an antique tinge to the version. "Woe worth the day," Ezek. xxx, 2, "worth" connected with the German *werden;* "bravery" is gay clothing in Isaiah iii, 18, in common Scotch "braws"; "by and bye" is not a time at some little distance, but immediately, Mark vi, 25, Luke xxi, 9; "road," which occurs only once, does not signify a path, but an inroad, a raid, 1 Sam. xxvii, 10; "seared" is scorched, or cauterized, 1 Tim. iv, 7; "ranges for pots," Levit. xi, 35; but "ranges" is ranks of soldiers, 2 Kings xi, 8, 15, at least the Hebrew word has this meaning; "ranges" appears in the Great Bible in verse 8, but in verse 17 the words are, "without the temple, that she may be within the ranges,"—after Münster—Coverdale having "wall," and the Rheims "precincts of the temple,"—Vulgate, *septum* —the English term "ranges" might mean in that case the limits or boundaries of the temple. The noun is left untranslated in the Septuagint. Shamefastness (1 Tim. ii, 9) has been corrupted into the poor and misleading form "shamefacedness." The phrases "set the people a-work" (2 Chron. ii, 18), "having in a readiness" (2 Cor. x, 6) remain unaltered. "Rising" is a swelling, Lev. xiii, 2, 19; "wealth" is not money, but well-being, 1 Cor. x, 24; "let all Israel be generally gathered unto thee" means universally brought together, 2 Sam. xvii, 11; "purchase" is simply to acquire, 1 Tim. iii, 13; "power" is an armed force, "all his power with him," 2 Chron. xxxii, 9; "men of war," Luke xxiii, 11, is a phrase applied now to ships

only; "to break up a house" is now to dismantle it, so that "he would not suffer his house to be broken up," means he would not suffer his house to be broken into (Matt. xxiv, 43), the thief digging through the frail clay walls; "a great altar to see to," Josh. xxii, 10; "how shall we order the child?" (arrange concerning him), Judg. iii, 12—margin, "what shall be the manner of the child?" "Summer and winter" are used as verbs, Isaiah xviii, 6; "ensue" has the sense of "pursue," 1 Pet. iii, 3, 11; "wasteness," Zeph. i, 15; and "ravin," Gen. xlix, 27, are now unfamiliar, as are also the following terms and phrases: "go to," Gen. xi, 3, James iv, 13; "bar and all," Judges xvi, 3; "on a smoke," Exodus xix, 18; "high day," Gen. xxix, 7; "clean escaped," 2 Pet. ii, 18; "cast the same in his teeth," Matt. xxvii, 44; "withal," besides, or over and above, Ps. cxli, 10; Acts xxv, 27, "made as though he would have gone further," Luke xxiv, 28; "fell on sleep," "goodman of the house," Matt. xx, 11; "savour" as a verb, Matt. xvi, 23; "I do you to wit," "wist not," "every whit," "not a whit," "at quiet," "a fishing," "a preparing," "an hungered," "a thirst," "a work," "spring of the day," "much set by," "as good as," "that time is," "for all there were so many," "at a venture,"—Heb. in his simplicity, not taking aim at any particular mark—"the more part," "many a time," "forth of," "before time," "cast clouts," Jer. xxvii, 11; "of a truth," "any while," "this ado," "at their wits end," "make for," "to the end that," "as touching," "as concerning," "in respect of," "in seething," "in building," "was budded," "was befallen," "at the length," "at the least," "at the last," "follow after," "on examination had," "that thine is," "the quick and the dead," "now a days," "I trow not," "such like," "of a child," "strike hands," "on a day," "it liketh him best," "what time," "when as," "let it forth," "the goings out of it," Num. xxxiv, 5; "thy coming in," Ps. cxxi, 8; "against," by the time that,[1] John xii, 7; 2 Kings xvi, 11; or "to meet one," 1 Sam. ix. 14. There are such combinations as "horse heeles," Gen. xlix, 17; "horse hoofs," Judges v, 22; "horse bridles," Rev. xiv, 20; the

[1] Maetzner's English Grammar, English Trans., vol. III, p. 435, London, 1874.

first of the two nouns being in the possessive. The phrase "three mighties" occurs twice in 1 Chron. xi, 12, 24, the Bishops' and the Great Bible having the "three mightiest" after Tyndale—Matthew, the Genevan and Coverdale in one of the instances have "three worthies."

Some words have only their Latin meaning—a meaning that has passed away, and some preserve two significations. Thus in Acts xxiv, 2, "providence" is forethought, not divine government; "prevent" is used in its original meaning—to go before, to anticipate—in Psalm xxi, 3; cxix, 148; Matt. xvii, 25; 1 Thess. iv, 15, the more modern sense being "to hinder," to go before, so as to obstruct one. John i, 15, "is preferred before me" means has come to be before me, his office rising in dignity far above mine; but the word is ambiguous, as it is used to signify "to regard one more than another"; and this clause is adduced by Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, as an example of such a signification; and the erroneous sense would then be, "elevated in popular opinion above me." "Revive" is brought to life again, 1 Kings xvii, 22; Rom. xiv, 9; "decision," Joel iii, 14, is cutting off; "apprehend," is to seize, Philip. iii. 12; "instant" as an adjective has the meaning of continuous earnestness, Rom. xii, 12; 2 Tim. iv, 2; and the adverb has a similar meaning in Acts xxvi, 7, and in Luke vii, 4; but the noun has a temporal meaning in Luke ii, 38, and as often as it occurs in the Old Testament. "Honest" is honourable, Philip. iv, 8; "eminent" is projecting or prominent, Ezek. xvii, 22; "profited" is made progress, Gal. i, 14; "evidently" is visibly, Acts x, 3. "Conversation," in all places where it occurs, with one exception, keeps its Latin signification, and means, though it represents two Greek words, not talk, but the general tenor of a man's life—his walk; so that it is tautology to speak of "walk and conversation," Gal. i, 13; Eph. iv, 22; Philip. i, 27; 1 Pet. i, 15; but in Philip. iii, 20 it means citizenship, or country, representing a very different Greek substantive. Similarly we have "conversant," Josh. viii, 35—"the strangers that were conversant among them," that is, walked in and out among them, or had familiar daily intercourse; and so in 1 Sam. xxv, 15, and also in the contents of

Acts ii, "devoutly and charitably converse together." "Presumptuously" also keeps a sense, according to its composition in Exod. xxi, 14, "if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour"—beforehand, and on set purpose, though the Hebrew means cunningly. In other places the word has in it an ethical element of audacity and wilfulness—Num. xv, 30; Deut. i, 43, and in many other places—representing other Hebrew terms. "Replenish," however, is to fill, not to fill again. "Malice" is often vice, or wickedness. "Approve" has sometimes the simple sense of prove, Acts ii, 22; "affect" is to pay court to, Gal. iv, 17; "communicate" is to give to others a share of what we have, Philip. iv, 15; 1 Tim. vi, 18; Heb. xiii, 16, but in other places it has its more common modern meaning of words uttered, as in Matt. v, 37; Eph. iv, 29. To "accept" a person is to show unjust partiality for him, Job xxxii, 21; Gal. ii, 6; but in many instances it has the common modern meaning. "Evil occurrent" is evil coming against, 1 Kings v, 4; "to occupy" is often not to possess, but to trade, Ezek. xxvii, 9, 16, 19, 21, 22, 27; "allege" is to prove, and not, as now, to declare, Acts xvii, 3; "apparent" is manifest, and not seeming; God says of His special revelations to Moses, "With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently"—the contrast being "and not in dark speeches," Num. xii, 8; "charity" is love, 1 Cor. xiii; "comfort," as its origin implies, is not simply consolation, but strength, 2 Cor. xiii, 11. "Fervent" is not ethical, but physical in 2 Pet. iii, 10, 12; "vagabond" is only wanderer, Gen. iv, 12; "to possess" is to seize on, Num. xiii, 30; "comprehend" is used in its original or Latin sense, Isaiah xl, 12; "vain" is empty, or worthless, Judg. ix, 4; "vile" is cheap, insignificant, without any moral implication, in Philip. iii, 21; "volume" is roll; "title" (titulus) is the tablet affixed to the cross, John xix, 19; "temperance" is self-restraint, and not confined to the use of wine, Acts xxiv, 25, &c.; "traditions" are doctrines taught or handed over, either orally or in writing —"by word or our epistle," 2 Thess. ii, 15; "decline" is to turn away, Exod. xxiii, 2; "dissolving doubts" is solving or resolving them, Dan. v, 12; "expecting" is looking out for,

Heb. x, 13; "fame" is report, Matt. xiv, 1; "degree" is step, 2 Kings xx, 9; "provoke" is to call forth, to stir up, but not to anger, 2 Cor. ix, 2; "disposition" is arrangement with no reference to temperament, Acts vii, 53; "damnation" is simply judgment and not eternal penalty, the word having grown into a darker meaning since 1611, 1 Cor. xi, 29. "Incontinent" has a wider reference than to sexual lusts, 2 Tim. iii, 3; "discipline" has its first meaning of instruction, Job xxxvi, 10; so has "describe" in Josh. xviii, 4, 6; "curious" is wrought with care, Exodus xxviii, 8—"the curious girdle of the ephod"—but in Acts xix, 19, it refers to magic. "Creature" is any created thing without the modern notion of a living or organized thing, 1 Tim. iv, 4; "advisement" is deliberation, 1 Chron. xii, 19; "declare" is to make clear, Matt. xiii, 36; "offend" is to be, or prove a cause of stumbling, Matt. xviii, 6, 8, 9; "publican"—a Latin term transferred—is a collector of public revenue, and he was usually in Italy taken from the equestrian order. "Peculiar people" is a people His own special possession, Titus ii, 14; "singular" in Levit. xxvii, 2, is in special or individual connection with oneself; "passion" is suffering, Acts, i, 3; "ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers," Luke xi, 48 ("allow," "allouer," "allaudare,") the verb meaning not to permit merely, but to approve—similarly, though the original word is different, in Rom. vii, 15, in Rom. xiv, 22, and in 1 Thess. ii, 4, but it represents a different Greek verb in Acts xxiv, 15, and "allowance" with another derivation ("allouer, "allocare,") signifies portion or ration in 2 Kings xxv, 30. "Affinity" in 1 Kings iii, 1, 2 Chron. xviii, 1, Ezra ix, 14, has its strict Latin sense—"affinitas" opposed to "cognatio"—relation by marriage as opposed to relation by blood; "mortify" is to put to death, Rom. viii, 13; "tempt" is to put to trial; "usury" is only interest, not excessive interest in Matt. xxv, 27; "proper" is one's own, 1 Chron. xxix, 3; Acts i, 19; 1 Cor. vii, 7; but it also means fair or comely, Heb. xi, 23—Moses "was a proper child": had the best properties befitting a child. "Very" is "true" in Gen. xxvii, 21, John vii, 26; "attendance" is mental application, attention—a word which, however, does not occur at all, 1 Tim. iv, 13; "nephews" (Lat. nepos) are grand-children

according to old usage in 2 Tim. v, 4, and it represents the Hebrew phrase "sons' sons" in Judges xii, 14, Job xviii, 19, Isaiah xiv, 22; and "niece" is used in Wycliffe's version for grand-daughter. "Novice" is one newly admitted to the church, 1 Tim. iii, 6; "virtue" is healing power, Mark v, 30; "piety," 1 Tim. v, 4, is filial affection; "pommel," 2 Chron. iv, 12 (Lat. pomum), is a round apple-like ornament; "chapiter" is the head of the column, Exodus xxxvi, 38; "shalt discontinue from thine heritage," is shalt be exiled, Jerem. xvii, 4; "several" is separate in Num. xxviii, 13, and 2 Kings xv, 5, "dwelt in a several house." "Taverns" are stalls or shops, the "Tres Tabernae" in Acts xxviii, 15 being a station on the Appian Road, about ten miles nearer Rome than the Appii Forum.

There occur also such phrases as "even to the mercy seat-ward," Exodus xxxvii, 9; "he is forehead bald," Levit. xiii, 41, baldness of brow distinguished from baldness of head; "was sufficed," Ruth ii, 14, 18—the active being used as in modern idiom in Num. xi, 22; Ezek. xliv. 6; "how the matter will fall," fall out or happen, Ruth iii, 18; "David avoided out of his presence," slipped softly and suddenly away, 1 Sam. xviii, 11; "three days agone and fell sick," the word "agone" occurring only here, and itself a past participle; "have out," thrust out, 2 Sam. xiii, 9; and so in 2 Kings xi, 15; 2 Chron. xxxv, 23; "me thinketh," 2 Sam. xviii, 27; "methought" occurs in Milton, an impersonal verb, with "me" as a species of dative. "Which" is used both with persons and things, according to old usage. "Which" is the old form; "that," however, being the oldest, as the Anglo-Saxon neuter singular relative, but coming not so near the antecedent as "who" or "which." According to one rule of distinction, which has many exceptions, "who" belongs to clauses of additional predication, while "that" is used in restrictive or explanatory clauses.[1] "Which," more definite than "that," is often applied to a person in Shakespeare and his contemporaries; but Shakespeare also couples "who" with animals (a lion who) and inanimate objects (the winds "who take"). Ben Jonson speaks of "our relative which," as if it

[1] The term helpmeet as one word is wrong; the words in Scripture are an "help meet for him"; and the proper word would be helpmate

were the only one; and we still say, interrogatively, "which of us"?[1] We have in 1 Kings v, 6, "any that can skill to hew timber," the verb being obsolete, but the noun preserved; 2 Chron. ii, 9, "wonderful great"; Nehemiah xiii, 26, "outlandish women," foreigners; Job xix, 19, "all my inward friends," intimate or confidential; in Hebrew, "men of my secret"; Dan. xi, 30, "have intelligence with" is an understanding with; Prov. xxix, 13, "the Lord lighteneth both their eyes," the eyes of both classes of persons; and Eccles. iv, 3, "better is he than both they." "Away with" has two senses—Isai. i, 13, I cannot away with, cannot get on with, or cannot endure; but John xix, 15, "away with him," off with him to execution; Isai. xv, 5, "with weeping shall they go it up," an old and familiar idiom; Prov. xxi, 20, "spend it up"; Ezek. xxvii, 13, "traded the persons of men"; Hab. ii. 10, "thou hast consulted shame to thy house"; Acts xxiii, 15, "or ever he come," before he come; Amos vii, 17, "into captivity forth of his land"; Matt. vi, 34, "take no thought," thought[2] in its old meaning of anxiety; Matt. ix, 9, "receipt of custom," the place where custom or toll was received, as in the margin of Mark ii, 14, literally, tollbooth; Matt. xx, 31, "rebuked them because they should hold their peace," that is for the cause, or in order that

[1] Professor Bain, in his Companion to the Higher English Grammar, quotes Professor Milligan of Aberdeen, to the following effect:—"Our translation of St. Matthew's gospel has been examined, for the usage of the several relatives, by Professor Milligan, of Aberdeen, one of the Committee for revising the English Translation of the New Testament. There are 224 relative constructions. Of these, 175 are in strict accordance with the distinctive uses of 'who,' 'which,' and 'that,' as here taught. In 43 cases 'who' or 'which' is put for 'that'; in 6 cases 'that' is put for 'who' or 'which.'"

[2] Thus, "Hawis was put in trouble and died with thought," Bacon; Wright's Bible Word Book, p. 483. "Queen Catherine Parr died rather of thought," Somers' Tracts; Archbishop Trench's Select Glossary, *sub voce*. In strange ignorance of this old and familiar sense of the term, Mr. Greg, Creed of Christendom, vol. I, p. lxvii, 2nd edition, founds an argument against the morality of the Gospel, as if Christ "not only deprecated, but also denounced and prohibited" all forethought in worldly matters, and encouraged "improvidence." The Greek term denotes cares, dividing or distracting the mind—anxious trouble.

they should hold their peace,[1] as in all the earlier versions but the Rheims. Matt. xxvi, 66, "guilty of death," guilty, in modern English, being connected with the crime, not with the penalty, as in Num. xxxv, 27, "shall not be guilty of blood or of murder"; "likewise" is likeways, or in like manner, and not simply "also," "he also himself likewise," Heb. ii, 14, used similarly by Chaucer and Shakespeare; John iii, 33, "set to his seal"; Acts xxviii, 13, "fetched a compass," tacking on account of the adverse wind; Rom. xvi, 19, "simple" does not mean foolish; James v, 11, "pitiful" is full of pity, not what excites pity; Philip. iv, 6, "careful" is full of care or anxiety; "faithful" is often full of faith, or believing, Eph. i, 1; "painful" is laborious, Ps. lxxiii, 16; "reward" is often to requite, either in a good or bad sense; "rehearse" is to tell, not necessarily to repeat; "cunning" is skilled or expert, Gen. xxv, 27; "fret" is used in a physical sense, Lev. xiii, 55; "passage," 1 Sam. xiii, 23, would now be "pass"; and "witty" has no element of humour in it, Prov. viii. 12.

The language was not matured in the early part of the reign of James, and as it was in a state of oscillation the translators use both forms of the preterite "clad" and "clothed," "shone" and "shined," "awoke" and "awaked," and they have both "stale" and "stole," "lien" and "lain," "strike" and "strake," but never "struck," nor "spoke," nor "broke." They use both "got" and "gotten," "girt" and "girded," in the same chapter, and "built" and "builded" in consecutive verses, nay "leapt" in the text and "leaped" in the margin of 1 Kings xviii, 26; "spilt" and "spilled," "wrung" and "wringed," "clave" and "cleaved," "helped" and "holpen," "held" and "holden"; "sod" but not "seethed"; "digged" only, refusing "dug." The preterite forms of "sew" from "sow," "mew" from "mow," had already passed out of use. "Rent" is used several times as a verb in the present and is once found in modern copies, Jerem. iv, 30. Similar variations occur in smaller matters, as the use of "a" and "an," as "a hand" and "an hand," "a hairy" and "an hairy," "a hole" and "an hole," "a horse" and "an horse," "my" and "mine," "thy" and "thine,"

[1] See page 107.

even in the same verse (Num. v, 20; Job xv, 12), "before" and "before that," "after" and "after that," "hence" and "from hence," "thence" and "from thence." But the version shows general correctness in the use of "shall" and "will," "lye" and "lay," "sit" and "set," "bade" and "bidden"—forms and idioms so often confounded in colloquial English. It has four times "beeves" the regular plural of beef, instead of the more common terms "bullocks" or "oxen." "Sith" occurs once as a logical term in Ezek. xxxv, 6, and "since" is also employed as an illative in Joshua ii, 12, and in 1 Cor. xv, 21, but it is oftenest used with a temporal signification. "Beside" usually keeps its original meaning, "by the side," as in 1 Sam. xix, 3; Ps. xxiii, 2; but it is also found in the sense of more or in addition to, and it has this modern meaning four times, in Levit. xxiii, 38, Deut. xxix, 1, Luke xvi, 26, and xxiv, 21. On the other hand "besides," while it has its usual sense, is employed once at least in the more literal meaning of "beside," Levit. vi, 10, "he shall put them besides the altar," changed, however, in later editions. "Sake" or "sakes" after the preposition "for" is very often employed—considerably over a hundred times—and is preceded by a noun or a pronoun, the form "for the sake of" being ignored.

Many of the older idioms have become obsolete or the meaning has been altered. "Asa his heart was perfect," 1 Kings xv, 14; the noun and the pronoun so placed occur in the first edition and in the early editions as far down at least as a Scottish one of 1766—the form now being Asa's. Many seem to have thought that the 's is a contraction of the omitted pronoun, whereas it is simply the old Saxon genitive. "Mordecai his matters" has been changed into "Mordecai's matters" (Esther iii, 4), and the words in the heading of Ruth iii are also modernized, "By Naomi her instructions, Ruth lieth at Boaz his feete." "This monstrous syntax," as Ben Jonson calls it, suggested the word "his" as the explanation: man's=man-his; but what then of yours, theirs, ours, hers? "The queen's English" could not be "the queen his English." The pronoun "it" in a possessive sense occurs in Shakespeare fifteen times (first folio), and "its" ten times; "its," found only three times in Milton's

poetry, is not found in the Authorized Version at all; the simple "it" is used once, "that which groweth of it own accord," Levit. xxv, 5, "his" being employed, as it stood in Anglo-Saxon for both masculine and neuter. But the usage sounds strange to modern ears: Gen. i, 11, "after his kind whose seed is in itself"; Levit. i, 6, "cut it into his pieces"; 15, "the priest shall bring it to the altar and wring off his head"; 2 Sam. vi, 17, "they brought in the ark and set it in his place"; Ezek. xvii, 9, "it shall wither in all the leaves of her spring"; 1 Cor. xiii, 5, "doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own." Dryden finds fault with Ben Jonson's use of "his" for "its." But at length objects of which sex could not be predicated necessitated the introduction of "its."[1] Chatterton's "Rowley's Poems" might have been pronounced a forgery at once from the occurrence of "its" in such a phrase as "life and all its goods." Dr. Masson has brought the same usage to bear on the genuineness of a little poem found in the British Museum and printed in 1868 in the Times newspaper. In its fifty-four lines "its" occurs four times. At an earlier period, the genitive "is" was common. Palsgrave[2] in his French grammar, prepared for the Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII (London, Haukyns, 1530), says "we put 'is' or 's' to a substantive when we wyll express 'possessyon.'" More than twenty years after the publication of the Authorized Version the practice was so uncertain that Butler, while in his English Grammar of 1633 he formally declines "it" with the genitive "its," uses "his" again and again in his volume. Referring to the letter W he speaks of "his name," . . "his face," and "his shape." In old poems "hyt" is found with a possessive sense.[3] But Addison lightly calls the single letter "s" ('s) the "his" or "her" of our forefathers.

[1] The "h," though preserved in "he," "him," "his," "her," has passed out of the neuter "it," originally "hyt" or "hit," as it is yet pronounced by Scottish school boys.

[2] Palsgrave's L'Esclarcissement, &c., was reprinted in Paris, Imprimerie National, 1852.

[3] P. xxiv, Early English Literature, Poems, Early English Text Society, and in the writings of Sir Thomas More.

In our modern copies the spelling is very often changed from the first edition: "aliant" (Job xix, 15) has become "alien"; "chaws" (Ezek. xxix, 4), "jaws"; "fet," "fetched" (Acts xxviii, 13); "fift," "fifth" (Lev. xxvii, 13); "lese," "lose" (1 Kings xviii, 5); "moe," "more" (Deut. i, 11); "mids," "midst" (Luke xxiii, 45); "terreses," "terraces" (2 Chron. ix, 11); "bowshoot," "bowshot" (Gen. xxi, 16); "moneth," "month" (Exod. xvi, 1); "marish," "marsh"; "thorow," "through"; "thorowout," throughout"; "flixe" was changed into "flux" (Acts xxviii, 8); "grinne," into "gin" (Job xviii, 9); "counsel" is now "council" (the Sanhedrim); "broided" (1 Tim. ii, 9)—"plaited" in the margin has become "broidered" in several modern editions; and the *n* was sometimes denoted only by a stroke, as in older English; "accompt" has been changed into "account"; and "renowne," into "renown"; "then," as a conjunction, into "than"; "plat," into "plot"; "unpossible" (Matt. xvii, 20) has become "impossible"; but the original form "unperfect" remains in Psalm cxxxix, 16; "unmovable," in Acts xxvii, 41, and 1 Cor. xv, 58; "shipwracke" has been altered in 2 Cor. xi, 25. "Hot" was spelled "whot" (Deut. ix, 19). The form *ie* is the termination of many words now ending in *y*, as carie, citie; *i* and *u* are used for the more modern *j* and *v*; *e* is found often at the end of words as—sunne, moone, starres, signe, arke, farre, yere, hee, shee, bee, rammes skinnes, and in the phrase, "doe the dutie"; past participles are spelt as sowen, growen; shallbe or shal-be is one word; and there are such spellings as bricke kill (Jer. xliii, 9), maner, sope, perfit, battel, enterten, unfained, neesing, "bile," for "boil"; theren, plow, pransings, "lancer," for "lancet"; "mussell," for "muzzle;" "crudle," for "curdle"; "cize," for size"; "utter," for "outer"; damesell, but not always; "that had bin" occurs Matt. i, 6. "Ought" is an early way of spelling "owed"—"which ought him ten thousand talents" (Matt. xviii, 24)—and the original form was preserved in many editions; "champaign," a level country, is "champion" in the text of Deut. xi, 30; but "champian" in the margin of Ezekiel xxxvii, 2, the only places where the word occurs. Preterite forms are given, as "clipt," "cropt";

"pluckt" and "plucked"; "stopt" and "stopped"; "lift" and "lifted"; "fetcht" and "fetched"; "prey," in the modern editions, is "pray" in the early ones, as Gen. xlix, 9, 27, and so commonly throughout. There are also such varying forms as "burthen" and "burden"; "murther" and "murder"; "hundreth" and "hundred" in consecutive verses, Judg. xviii, 16, 17; "prophane" and "profane"; "toward" and "towards" in the same verse, Gen. xlviii, 13, but made uniform in subsequent editions. There are as great variations in Milton's spelling, even in the first editions of his poems. "Be" is the old form; "thy sins be forgiven thee" (Matt. ix, 2) is not a command or imprecation, but a simple statement, as in Gen. xiii, 8, "for we be brethren"; in Dan. iii, 19, "than it was wont to be heat," the old participle is still a Scotticism, pronounced "het," as "set," which is the past participle of "seat" (Matt. v, 1); "dedicate" in the phrase "he had dedicate," 2 Kings xii, 18, has long since become "had dedicated." Adjectives of this or similar ending, formed from the Latin past participle, are used without an additional syllable, as "situate," "O thou that art situate," Ezek. xxvii, 3. "Thee" is also archaic, as "get thee," "haste thee," "fare thee"; "ye," and seldom "you," as the nominative, though "ye" is often objective in Milton. It would appear that when Milton wrote "yee," or "thee," he occasionally meant the form to be emphatic.[1] "Yee" has been changed into "you" in the more modern editions: Isa. i, 16, "wash you," the change perhaps prompted by the following clause, "make you clean," "you" in the first clause being regarded as objective. The translators in their own preface use "you": "You are risen up in your father's stead"; "as your fathers did, so do you"; but in the translation of both places they keep "ye" (Num. xxxii, 14; Acts vii, 51). "That" is used for "what," "we speak that we do know" (John iii, 11); and several times in this gospel; "thou takest that thou layedst not down" (Luke xix, 21, 22, 26); "if I do that I would not" (Rom. vii, 20; similarly, viii, 25; 2 Cor. viii, 12); "in," as well as "on," is found in connection with "throne" (Prov. xx, 8);

[1] Masson's Milton, vol. III, p. 187

Rev. iii, 21); and in connection with earth (Matt. vi, 10). We have in 1 Kings xvii, 10, "a widow woman was gathering of sticks"; but "gathering two sticks," in verse 12; and in Rev. xviii, 12, "all manner vessels of ivory"; this last idiom occurs in several other places in the first edition.[1] "Whiles" (Matt. v, 25) is a genitive form; in Eph. ii, 13, "sometimes" is simply for "sometime," like "betimes," which has not a plural sense, but means at some early period. We have also "alway," "always"; and the phrase "or ever," Psalm xc, 2, "or" being another form of "ere," before, Exodus i, 19, Num xiv, 11, Dan. vi, 24, is a reduplication, like "for because," Gen. xxii, 16. There are also forms of expression which were quite correct and current in the days of Elizabeth and James, and common to the contemporaries of the translators, which are now regarded as out of rule, as Matt. v, 23, "if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee," both verbs being attached to the same conjunction; John ix, 31, "if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will"; the same form of the English verb should have been kept in the successive clauses. Sometimes a strong preterite is found in the one clause and an auxiliary used in the next: Matt. xxv, 26, "reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed,'! are not out of harmony. The reverse, however, is awkward: "doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth and seeketh"; Acts xxvii, 21, "and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss"; Jeremiah xxvi, 19, "did he not fear the Lord, and besought the Lord, and the Lord repented?" clauses of the same question; Matt. xxvi, 67, "then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him"; Mark viii, 22, "they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him," a mistranslation. A double negative occurs in 2 Sam. xiv, 7, "shall not leave neither name nor remainder"; also, 1 Cor. x, 32. The old use of grammatical numbers, according to sense and not technical canon, occurs, Acts i, 15, "the number of names together were." On the other hand, "an" is used before a plural, when the objects are taken as a unity: "an eight days after these sayings"

[1] See vol. I., p. 284.

(Luke ix, 28). There are other peculiarities: Gen. xxvii, 15, "goodly raiment which were with her"; Luke v, 10, "so was also James and John." "There was taken up twelve baskets" (Luke ix, 17); "Agrippa and Bernice was entered" (Acts xxv, 23). A singular verb, especially the substantive verb, is often connected with two or more nominatives, as in the concluding clause of the Lord's Prayer—"Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory." Compare Heb. ix, 4; Ezek. ii, 10; Dan. v, 11; vii, 14; Haggai ii, 19; and many other places. In such connections each nominative is singled out in succession, for the sake of emphasis: "the kingdom is thine, and the glory is thine," &c. In the clause, John xi, 57, "If any man knew where he were," "were" was apparently not taken as a subjunctive. "Generation" is represented by "they" in one clause, "they seek a sign"; and by "it" in the next, "no sign shall be given it" (Luke xi, 29); Jer. xviii, 15, similarly, "My people hath forgotten me, they have burned incense"; Matt. xv, 8, "This people draweth nigh with their mouth." Want of uniformity occurs also in these verses in the use of numerals: "One and twentie yeere old" (Jer. lii, 1); "threescore and two yeere old" (Dan. v, 31); "thirty change of garments" (Judges xiv, 13); "in the sixth hundredth and one yeere" (Gen. viii, 13), corrected in 1629; "upon the eight day" (Ezek. xliii, 27). "Then," according to old custom, is used as a conjunction in the clause, "a fool's wrath is heavier then them both" (Prov. xxvii, 3). The expressions "asked an alms" and "so great riches is come to naught," are correct, both nouns being really singular. The phrase, "the which" (Luke xxi, 6; Acts xvii, 31; Colos. iii, 7; Heb. vii, 19; James ii, 7), common in old English, has all but passed away; as also Philemon 6, "much bold." Modern usage would condemn the connection of "each" or "every one" with a plural following, as in Song of Solomon iv, 2, "whereof every one bear twins"; Matt. xviii, 35, "if ye forgive not every one his brother their trespasses," and this was a common Elizabethan idiom, each having the sense of both the one or the other in combination. The two last words are, however, not genuine in this place, but are an exegetical supplement;

Philip. ii, 3, "let each esteem other better than themselves. "Both" is used with more than two, as in Ezek. ix, 6, "both maids, and little children, and women." "Whom" is not accurate in such phrases as Matt. xvi, 13, 15; Mark viii, 27, 29; Luke ix, 18, 20, "Whom do men say that I am?" "whom say ye that I am?" "whom think ye that I am?" The law of the succession of tenses is sometimes violated, as where "might" is used frequently for "may," Eph. iii, 19, "might" being a past form. "What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? The blind man said unto him, That I might receive my sight," an impossible reference to a past time, and the present "may" is therefore the appropriate auxiliary; so also Luke viii, 9; John v, 40. There is a peculiarity in Prov. vi, 19, "a false witness that speaketh lies, and him that soweth discord among brethren"; "him" remained in the text through many editions, even in that of 1638, and apparently was not changed till 1769. In Heb. ix, 11, 12, we have "Christ being come an high priest . . . he entered," with the other and real nominative in the previous verse, "Christ." There is also the double comparative "lesser," used three times in the text and once in the margin, but occurring a score of times in Shakespeare; and the double superlative, "most straitest sect" (Acts xxvi, 5), an idiom called by Ben Jonson "a certain kind of Atticism"; such double degrees occur often in Shakespeare, "the most unkindest cut of all." There are also double possessives, "a servant of the king's (2 Kings xxii, 12); "a cunning man . . . of Huram my father's" (2 Chron. ii, 13); "a servant of the high priest's" (Matt. xxv, 51); "hired servants of my father's" (Luke xv, 17). Other instances have been changed, but in the first edition we have, Deut. xxiii, 25, "the standing corn of thy neighbour's"; Lev. xxii, 10, "a sojourner of the priest's." We have also these peculiar forms—Exod. ix, 4, "the children's of Israel"; Deut. x, 14, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God."

But, in fine, many of the licenses taken by Elizabethan authors were refused by the framers of the present version, for they wrought under the condition and necessary constraint of translators, so that they did not and could not follow Shakes-

peare in using an adverb as a verb or a noun, in employing a noun as an adjective or as an active verb, or in setting an adjective to do duty as an adverb or a noun. Such irregular facilities tended to vigour, clearness, and immediateness of expression, but they could not be adopted in all their exuberance into a work which was to live on untouched by changing literary styles and fashions, and to sustain a fresh and long protest against ephemeral crudities, affected verbal combinations, and ponderous Latinisms in the style of English writers.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE translators were quite aware of the enmity and opposition which their work was sure to meet with, and their preface opens with distinct anticipations of the calumnies that would be poured upon them.

"Zeale to promote the common good, whether it be by deuising any thing our selues, or reuising that which hath bene laboured by others, deserueth certainly much respect and esteeme, but yet findeth but cold intertainment in the world. It is welcommed with suspicion in stead of loue, and with emulation in stead of thankes: and if there be any hole left for cauill to enter, (and cauill, if it doe not finde a hole, will make one) it is sure to bee misconstrued, and in danger to be condemned. This will easily be granted by as many as know story, or have any experience. For, was there euer any thing projected, that sauoured any way of newnesse or renewing, but the same endured many a storme of gaine-saying, or opposition? A man would thinke that Ciuilitie, holesome Lawes, learning and eloquence, Synods, and Church-maintenance, (that we speake of no more things of this kind) should be as safe as a Sanctuary, and out of shot, as they say, that no man would lift vp the heele, no, nor dogge mooue his tongue against the motioners of them. . . . Thus not only as oft as we speake, as one saith, but also as oft as we do any thing of note or consequence, we subiect our selues to euery ones censure, and happy is he that is least tossed vpon tongues; for vtterly to escape the snatch of them it is impossible."

The version, as had thus been anticipated, soon encoun-

tered opposition, its first antagonist being the scholarly but impracticable Hugh Broughton. He had not been chosen one of the revisers, though he had been all his life writing on the nature and necessity of Biblical revision. On account of his arrogant and perverse temper he was not a "clubable" man. His great erudition was undoubted, though much of it was spent on smaller matters, especially in discussing the genealogies of Scripture. The learned Lightfoot, his biographer, calls him on the title-page of the volume of his collected works, "the great Albionian Divine, renowned in many nations for his skill in Salem's and Athens' tongues." His style, as admitted by Lightfoot, was "curt, something harsh, and obscure." He wrote sharp criticisms on his rival Lively, and he attacked unsparingly the Bishops' Bible. To crown all, he fell upon Bancroft himself and with poor wit brands him as "the bane of the banned croft," and hints to him in reference to a notorious theological dispute about a middle state, that when his soul shall ascend to Hades, he may find Gehenna there, and that for his raving against truth, King James, to whom the tract is dedicated, "shall behold him from Abraham's bosom." Broughton, being passed by, and not engaged in the work, was, according to Walton,[1] so highly offended that he wrote with more than usual asperity against the Authorized Version. "The late Bible was," he intimates, "sent me to censure, which bred in me a sadness which will grieve me while I breathe. It is so ill done. Tell his Majesty that I had rather be rent in pieces with wild horses than any such translation, by my consent, should be urged on poor churches. . . . My advertisement they regarded not"—the allusion being to their translation of the last clause of Gen. iv, 26. In reference to Luke iii, and the phrase "the Son of God," he maintains that in fifteen verses they have "fifteen scores of idle words for account in the day of judgment, the relation of each name being to Christ." He adds, "when the genealogy was attacked, I cleared our Lord's family"; Bancroft raved and gave the anathema,

[1] Todd's Memoirs of Walton, vol. I, p. 92; Lewis' History of Translations, p. 297, 3rd edition.

"Christ judged his own cause." Broughton's other charges are based on St. Stephen's speech, on which he dogmatizes without throwing light upon it; on the Seventy Weeks in Daniel; on the translation of the names of precious stones;[1] the spelling of proper names; and on Daniel xi, 38, "where they leave atheism in the text, and put my translation into the margent." He admits, however, "I blame not this that they keep the usual style of former translations. For the learned the Genevan might be made exact, for which pains for whole thirty years I have been called upon, and I spent much time, to my great loss, by wicked hindrance."[2]

Such were the impressions of Broughton's erudition and vanity that when he went to the continent it was said that he had gone to teach the Jews Hebrew. His "coat bare the bird of Athens"; and as he helped Speed to compile the genealogies found in the earlier edition of the present Bible, the two owls with a burning torch found at the top corners of the first page mean that "it was Mr. Broughton that gave the light in that work."[3] There is a sprightly caricature of Broughton's subjects and style in Ben Johnson's Alchemist, act iv, scene 3.

Dr. Gell, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, published, in 1659, an attack—"a skeleton of mere criticisms"—upon the version and its framers. Some of his accusations are very trivial, and many of his statements are drawn out into prolix allegorical sermons. He objects to their inversion of the order of words, to their undue use of supplemental terms, and to their translation as being moulded to suit their own opinions, while they put the better and truer rendering in the margin. Especially does he censure their Bible as obscuring

[1] Bancroft, in writing to Cowell, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, says in a postscript that he had sent for the translators "a copy of a learned epistle of Mr. Broughton's, though it was of old date." There is no doubt that this work was his "Epistle to the learned nobilitie of England touching Translating the Bible," 1595.

[2] Works, p. 661, &c., London, 1662.

[3] The genealogies and the description of the Holy Land, in the first edition, were compiled by royal authority, as was told by the delegates at the Synod of Dort.

on purpose the doctrine of perfection, for he regarded such a state as attainable in the present life.[1] They predicted that "uncharitable imputations" would be cast on them and their work, and Broughton and Gell soon verified the prophecy.[2] Nor have they been the only opponents. But such baseless objections as those brought by Bellamy and Sir James Burges, and recently renewed by Mr. Street,[3] against the version that it was taken from the Septuagint, have been sufficiently exposed by Brett, Whittaker, and Todd.

A portion of the arguments which Gregory Martin had used many years before against the current Protestant versions was taken up and repeated by Thomas Ward[4] against the present Bible, the edition singled out being that of Bill and Barker, 1683. This book, "Errata of the Protestant Bible," seems to have been published anonymously in the reign of James II; and a second edition appeared in 1688. It was reprinted in Dublin in 1807, issued with a preface by Lingard in 1810, and with a letter by Milner in 1841. Ward calls his work an abridgment, "suited not only to the purse of the poorest, but to the capacity of the most ignorant." He excels his predecessor in ferocity of epithet, accuses King James's translators of blasphemy, most damnable corruptions, intolerable deceit, and vile imposture, these epithets not being "the dictates of passion, but the just resentment of a zealous mind." Of damnable corruptions there are one hundred and twenty, and twenty errors in addition are not regarded as the product of ill design. Many of Ward's alleged corruptions are now found in the Catholic version itself: it has been so

[1] Essay towards the amendment of the last English Translation, London, 1659.

[2] Baxter refers to Gell as one of the sowers of religious discord in the Parliamentary army, especially in Colonel Whalley's regiment. These "sectmasters fiercely cried down the present translation of the Scripture."

[3] Restoration of Paths to Dwell in." By the Rev. B. Street, vicar of Barnsley-le-Wold. London, 1872.

[4] Ward was a schoolmaster who had gone over to the Church of Rome in the days of James II. He then travelled in Italy, and served as a soldier in the Papal Guards. He also published "England's Reformation, in Hudibrastic verse." Ward was replied to by Grier, Ryan, and Hamilton.

much altered from time to time. The answer of Fulke to Martin still suffices to refute such polemical objections, and some of the older incorrect renderings have been changed in our present version. One grievous complaint was the use of the term "images," as in 1 John v, "Babes, keep yourselves from images"; 2 Cor. vi, 16, "how agreeth the temple of God with images?" Eph. v, 5, "nor covetous person who is a worshipper of images." The Catholics, allowing idolatry to be wrong, felt that these renderings condemned their practice of having images in their churches, and suggested to the people the destruction of them. But the accusation does not apply to the Authorized Version, for the Greek word and its compounds are rendered idol, idolater, and idolatry. Many of the Fathers, indeed, as Jerome, could not distinguish between the worship of images and that of idols, and practically to the masses they are the same; yet it was right to indicate the distinction between two Greek terms.[1] The Genevan had already set the example of a correct rendering.

Among the charges brought against the new version the most absurd and ludicrous is, that through royal influences the translation was worded so as to countenance the notion of witchcraft. Dr. Samuel Johnson,[2] after telling of James's great skill in witchcraft and referring to his Treatise on Demonology printed at Edinburgh and reprinted in London soon after his accession, adds that "as the ready way to gain King James's favour was to flatter his speculations, the system of Demonology was adopted by all who desired either to gain preferment or not to lose it." These words do not contain any definite accusation against the translators, though they have been supposed to do so. But Bishop Huchinson in his "Historical Essay on Witchcraft" asserts in the same spirit and more directly, after referring to the statute against conjuration, "The translation of the Bible being made soon after, by King James's particular desire, hath received some phrases that favour the vulgar notions more than the old translations did. At that unhappy

[1] Such as εἰκών and εἴδωλον.

[2] Works, vol. X, p. 76, London, 1823.

time was brought in the gross notion of a familiar spirit . . . these translations being introduced for the great reverence they had to the King's judgment and the testimony he gave them of facts from Scotland." A professed commentator also, Rev. John Hewlet, B.D., who published an exposition of the Bible in 1812—the notes of which were reprinted in 1816—declares without reserve that the translators introduced the term "familiar spirit," "witch," and "wizard," to flatter the notions of royalty.

But whatever the king's opinions were on this subject, the terms objected to occur in the earlier versions, and were therefore not introduced by the king's translators. Both the two preceding versions in concurrent use had in the story of her of Endor the phrase "familiar spirit" three times (1 Sam. xxviii, 7, 8), though they rendered the phrase "them that had familiar spirits and the wizards" in 3, and in 9 by "sorcerers" and "soothsayers." In the Great Bible, 1540, a "familiar spirit" is rendered a "spirit of prophecy," and by Coverdale, "spirit of soothsaying." Both the Genevan and the Bishops' have in Exodus xxii, 18, "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and the Bishops' has the following note, "the word in Hebrew signifieth a witch or sorcerer, or an enchaunter, or any that by devilish means hurteth either cattle, corn, or men." The translators, though they accepted the text, pointedly refused this note which was after the king's own heart. "Witch" is also the translation of the other earlier versions. Nay, in Isaiah lvii, 3, where the Genevan has "witches children," the Authorized does not copy, but has used "sorceress." In both the Wycliffite versions Simon is called a witch, the noun being at that early period of both genders. Belief in witchcraft was very current in Europe before the period of James I. Many mediaeval councils, synods, and papal Bulls had maintained the reality of it, and there is an immense body of literature on the subject. Wierus had written in 1583, and Reginald Scott in the following year. A statute had been passed against witchcraft in 1541 (33 Henry VIII, c. 8), and it was renewed at the accession of Elizabeth before any law was enacted in Scotland. Witchcraft figures prominently in many dramas. At a later period

Glanville, Henry More, Sir Matthew Hale (who condemned two women to death at Bury St. Edmunds in 1665), the Mathers in America, Professor Sinclair of Glasgow University,[1] Sir Thomas Brown, the "Exposer of Vulgar Errors," and good John Wesley, expressed their firm conviction of the reality of it. The penal laws in existence at that time against it, which had been passed (1 James I, c. 12) when Coke was Attorney-General, and Bacon a member of Parliament, were not repealed till 1736.[2] Chief-Justice Holt, in 1702, punished witchcraft as an imposture. The belief in witches was also intensely prevalent in Scotland. The General Assembly had often taken up the matter, and the early Seceders set down among the signs of spiritual declension the cessation of witch-burning. The last instance in England of witch-burning occurred in 1716, and in Scotland in 1720.

Most extraordinary statements have also been made about the relations of the translators and their work to the king. Two Transatlantic authors, in a joint production written in defence of the "Bible Union" and its avowedly Baptist version, affirm amidst much wrathful and senseless vituperation that the translators intended to flatter James by the rendering "God save the king"—"a phrase at war with all of God's revelations on kingly governments," and they give us the astounding intelligence that the monarch himself was the manager and final reviser of the Authorized Version—"those royal hands, dripping with the blood of hundreds of innocent human beings, gave the final touches to it."[3] Such statements

[1] See vol. I, p. 236.

[2] See Huchinson's Essay on Witchcraft, 1718; Upham's Salem Witchcraft, Boston, 1867; the first chapter of Lecky's Rationalism, vol. I, London, 1866, 3rd ed., and De la Demonialité, par Isidore Liseux, Paris, 1875.

[3] Discussion on Revision of the Holy Scripture, p. 113, 208. By James Edmunds, and T. S. Bell, Louisville, Ky., 1856. In a small book, "New Testament Studies by Aliquis," London, 1870, it is said that King James probably introduced the word *"Easter" in Acts xii, 5. But "Easter" is as old as Tyndale's first edition. Another conjecture of the same author may be taken for what it is worth, when he hints that it is not improbable that the king wrote the "flattering dedication" to himself.*

need no reply. The phrase "God save the king" was not coined by the translators—they found it both in the Bishops' and in the Genevan; the Great Bible and Matthew (Tyndale) having, in 1 Sam. x, 24, "God lend the king life," and Coverdale, "God save the new king."

Undue ecclesiastical predilections have been charged against the revisers. Thus the rendering "tables" in Mark vii, 4, has been branded as an attempt to hide the meaning of immersion as identified with washing. But the margin has "beds" from the Rheims, and "tables" is as old as Tyndale's first edition and is found in subsequent versions. It has also been alleged, and not without some reason, that in Acts xx, 28, the rendering of the clause "over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers" is a deflection from the true translation, and conceals the identity of the "elders" with the office-bearers usually named "bishops." It is quite true that the word given as "overseer" is, even as applied to Christ, everywhere rendered "bishop"; but perhaps the translation in Acts was meant to bring out the duties or functions of the office—"bishop" being a foreign term with a technical signification. But while it would have been better to preserve uniformity, it must be added at the same time that our translators did not introduce the variation, for "overseers" is in Tyndale 1526 and 1534, in Cranmer 1540, in both Genevan versions, and in the Bishops'; "bishops" being found in Wycliffe, Coverdale, and the Rheims. Wycliffe often renders "high priest" by "bishop," and the note of the Rheims is "bishops or priests."

Dr. Hill is reported by Henry Jessey, in a paper on revision, to have said in open assembly, "It was commonly reported that Bancroft, in order that the translation should 'speak prelatical language' had altered it in fourteen places; and that Dr. Miles Smith's complaint was that 'he is so potent that there is no contradicting him.'"[1] But we have no direct means of ascertaining whether the statement be true, only we know that Bancroft was among the first to defend episcopacy

[1] Henry Jessey was the author of the words of the New Testament," an English-Greek Lexicon "for all London, 1661.

as of absolute divine right, and he certainly had a temper and a will that could bear down all opposition.[1] This story, however, had so firm a hold on the popular mind that about 1657 it formed the preamble of a "bill for revising the English translation of the Scriptures," in the following terms:—

"Whereas by the reverend, godly, and learned Dr. Hill, it was publicly declared in his sermon before an honourable assembly,[2] and by himself since that time published in print, that when the Bible had been translated by the translators appointed, the New Testament was looked over by some prelates (that he could name) to bring it to speak the prelatical language, and he was informed by one that lived then, a great observer of those times, fourteen places in the New Testament, whereof he instanceth these in five or six places by them corrupted.

"The like testimony of these prelates wronging that new and best translation being given by some other ancient and godly preachers also, who lived in those times.

"And some appearance hereof may yet be seen in part of that very copy of these translators."[3]

Questions of doctrines are said to have warped the judgment of the translators. A passage often adduced in proof is Heb. vi, 4, 5, 6, and attention is called to the misrendering "if they shall fall away," which certainly ought to have been "and have fallen away," for it is in a line with the previous past participles. But if the mistranslation had been chosen to guard the indefectibility of grace the artifice is an early one, for it is found in the older versions from Tyndale downwards, with the exception of the Rheims. The revisers did not introduce the mistranslation, and they so often follow the old versions, that all we are warranted to say is that their theology may have inclined them to contentment with the established rendering.

[1] He died Nov. 2, 1610. He became Bishop of London in 1597, and Archbishop of Canterbury in Dec., 1604.

[2] Spittal Sermon, on Eph. iv, 15—"Speaking the truth in love," pp. 24, 25.

[3] State Paper Office, Domest. Interreg., Bundle 662, f. 12.

Beza encouraged them.[1] They might have got rid of the difficulty by saying, with Calvin and Beza, that the persons described and characterized in the previous clauses have never been regenerate; or, with Alford, that "the regenerate may fall away, but the elect never can"; "All elect are regenerate, but all regenerate are not elect." Still, and at whatever hazard, they ought to have given the right translation, which in this clause does not declare a contingency, but a fact ranked in the same category with enlightenment, tasting of the heavenly gift, and participation of the Holy Ghost.

In the first clause of Matt. v, 21, "said by them of old time," our translators forsake the older versions and follow Beza,[2] the rendering being vindicated by him only for its fitness, as singling out the teachers not the auditors; though they put "by" into the text, they give us "to" in the margin.

No little censure has been pronounced upon the rendering of Heb. x, 38, "now the just[3] shall live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." The words "any man" represent no corresponding Greek term in the original, and though they are a supplement, they were not printed as such in the early editions, as only since 1638 are they presented in italics. Our translators were very careless and inconsistent about what are now called italics; but in this case they could not be ignorant of the bearing of their version on the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, and they ought to have anxiously attended to the printing. They knew that there was no nominative expressed; that their rendering was based on an interpretation which to be borne out supposed that the phrase "any man" is fairly and fully implied in the verse; so that their supplement, as it was exegetical and liable to be contraverted, should have been honestly and carefully marked. But as we know their practice as to italics was in defiance of all uniformity, we dare not say that the non-marking of the two words was intended to serve any polemical purpose, for such

[1] By his *si prolabantur*, the Vulgate having *et prolapsi sunt*.

[2] *Dictum a veteribus*, the Vulgate having *dictum est antiquis*.

[3] The best text gives "my righteous one."

a device would have been too transparent; and if they had any theological bias, they were not such simpletons as to endeavour in this way to vail it. Now we are not going to expound the verse, but as some apology for them it may be noted that in the quotation from the Septuagint Version of Habakkuk ii, 4, there is a transposition of the clauses, and that scholars who do not hold the dogma supposed to have suggested the rendering agree with them in the supplement. Capellus, Scholefield, and Grotius give "any one," and so does Bishop Middleton; while Winer and De Wette supply "a man" as a general term abstracted from the epithet "just man." A similar nominative would be supplied to the verb as it stands in the first clause in the Septuagint; but Bleek is at a loss as to the nominative which should be taken, while Delitzsch argues that the clauses are inverted by the Apostle to make the subject no longer doubtful. Besides the original clause carries a meaning very different from that found in the quotation, as it reads, "Behold his soul which is lifted up is not upright in him," or "puffed up with pride his soul is not right in him." Owen, Lindsay, and many others consider that two classes of persons are contrasted; Beza explaining, "a just man is opposed to an impious one,"[1] as in the Septuagint. In their difficulty the translators followed Beza,[2] but when they left the natural and grammatical connection of the clauses, they ought not only to have imitated Beza's honest italics, but to have given the other rendering in the margin, "if he draw back." Nay, it was the more incumbent on them to append such a marginal alternative, because they have forsaken all the older versions with the exception of the Genevan, since from Tyndale down to the Bishops' the rendering is, "and if he withdraw himself."

Theological prepossession is also ascribed to the rendering of Acts ii, 47, "and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." This rendering of the Greek participle is certainly unfortunate—for it is present—literally "of those being saved." Had they followed their theology, they might have

[1] "Fidelis opponitur impio."

[2] "At si *quis* se subduxerit," printing *quis* in italics.

rendered, "the saved," as they have done in 2 Cor. ii, 15, men being saved as soon as they believe—"he that believeth hath life," and in consequence it was held that their ultimate salvation was certain, or that they "should be saved." But in their translation they simply follow the older versions and they accept the Vulgate.[1] Wycliffe in defiance of his Latin text renders, "them that weren maad safe." One objection to the rendering "are saved" is that, while in form it is an English present, in sense it is really a past, and there is also an objection to the phrase, "should be saved," since it shows a close similarity to another translation of different Greek in Acts xxiii, 27, "this man was taken of the Jews, and should have been killed."

Anti-Popish leanings are also alleged to shine through in the version. Thus, in 1 Cor. xi, 27, "wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup unworthily," the translation ought to be "or drink this cup," "or" being corrupted into "and" to destroy a possible argument for communion in one kind. The particle[2] stands unchallenged in Stephens and Beza, and there is no allusion to any other reading. Codex A was not accessible to them, but the Vulgate and the Peshito read "and," as also Clement, and Origen in his Commentary. When they saw that "and" occurred in 26, 28, 29, they were naturally tempted to insert it here. They found also the older versions divided—Tyndale and Cranmer having "or," and Coverdale, the Genevan, and the Bishops' having "and." Macknight too, who had little sympathy with their theology and no great admiration of their learning, justifies their preference of "and," giving among other reasons the false one that though ἤ may be the right reading, it often means "and," and ought to be so translated in this verse, as determined by v. 29. But though they never render this conjunction by "and," they seem, however, to have persuaded themselves that "and"[3] was the right reading here; for though they knew little of MSS., they knew something of the Peshito and of Patristic quotations. They were too shrewd not to perceive on the one hand the utter worth-

[1] "Qui salvi fierent." [2] ἤ [3] καί.

lessness of the Popish argument in defence of communion in one kind, and not to feel on the other hand that the use of "and" narrows the range of the Apostle's warning, which with "or" affixed the penalty to either act of eating or of drinking.

Gregory Martin finds fault with the rendering, Heb. xi, 21, "worshipped, leaning on the top of his staff," as directed against the adoration of creatures called "dulia." But the version is correct, and the supplementary word conveys the real sense, while the Rheims translators, after the Vulgate, have "adored the top of his rod"; the rod is Jacob's own, and not, as many Catholic interpreters suppose, the sceptre of Joseph, on the top of which was some image or symbol. The pointing of the Hebrew noun is doubtful, and it may mean either "bed" or "rod."

The Authorized Version has been often accused, as by Macknight, Campbell, and many others, of following Beza in its translation. Such imitation was natural in the circumstances, for Beza was a Greek scholar, with few equals or superiors in those times. "Without controversy" (1 Tim. iii, 16) is from Beza and Erasmus. The misrendering, "the terror of the Lord" (2 Cor. v, 11), came from the Genevan, and it from Beza. The wrong translation in Jude 12, "trees whose fruit withereth," came also from Beza, the sense being "autumn trees without fruit."[1] "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature" (2 Cor. v, 17) is after Beza, Tyndale, and the Great Bible; but another rendering, that of the Genevan, is given in the margin —"let him be a new creature." Yet, while Beza was closely consulted and frequently followed, it is also certain that his influence was not uniformly paramount, even in cases where a similar theological bias might be anticipated. In rendering the clause, Matt. iii, 15, "suffer it to be so now," the revisers refuse "let be," the equivocal version of the Genevan 1560, and also Beza's strange translation.[2] They translate fairly in places where he paraphrases wrongly, as Matt. vii, 23, "ye that work iniquity," Beza having, "who sin on purpose."[3] Nor do they

[1] "Frugiperdae."
[2] "Omitte."
[3] "Qui operam datis iniquitati."

copy his annotation in Matt. v, 20, where he virtually identifies righteousness with orthodoxy, and explains "entering into the kingdom" by "becoming teachers in the church." They indeed appear to follow him, and not the Vulgate,[1] in rendering "his faith was counted for righteousness" (Rom. iv, 3), and yet they are only keeping by the earlier Protestant versions of Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, Cranmer, the Genevan, and the Bishops'. They do not accept Beza's rendering when they translate in Acts iii, 21, "whom the heaven must receive"; nor in ii, 27, 31, "leave my soul in hell"; Beza's first rendering being, "my corpse in the grave";[2] and though he changed it because it gave offence, he still upheld it to be correct; the two Genevan versions follow him, and he vindicates the rendering in a full note. Beza is not followed in John i, 12, "dignity to be sons of God"; but "power" is the word selected—the Genevan having in the margin "privilege or dignity." Nor is he followed in Acts i, 14, where he renders "with their wives," the proper translation being, "with the women"; nor do they take his and the Vulgate rendering, "spirit of santification," in Rom. i, 1, nor in Heb. ix, 15, for he has "covenant," and in the passage he is followed once by the Genevan of 1557 and twice by the Bishops' which has "testament" in the margin. They also forsake Beza in Gal. i, 24, "they glorified God in me"—he having, "concerning me," and Tyndale having, "on my behalf." Nor do they take instruction from Beza in James ii, 14, where they render "can faith save him?" Beza having "can that faith save him?"[3] They were under sore temptation to preserve the "illa," but they go away so far from Beza that they even ignore the article, which may have its contextual sense. The one Genevan has "that faith," and the other, "the faith." In 1 Cor. xiii, 2, Beza renders the same adjective first by "all,"[4] and then by "whole,"[5] and vindicates the alteration on polemical grounds; but the English version has rightly given "all knowledge," and "all faith."

[1] "Ad justitiam."
[2] "Cadaver meum in sepulchro."
[3] "Num potest fides illa eum servare?"
[4] "Omnia."
[5] "Totam."

Rom. ii, 7, is translated, "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life." But Beza, as if afraid of the connection of the patient continuance in "well-doing" with glory and ultimate eternal life, separates the words and renders, "to them who according to patient expectation seek the glory of a good work." There are different modes of construction; but Beza's exegesis, "that is, who seek eternal life," is wholly unjustifiable. Rom. v, 16, "judgment was by one to condemnation," Beza translates, "the guilt, indeed, is of one offence to condemnation," implying a distinct doctrinal bias and a mistranslation of the noun.

Rom. viii, 4, "That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us";[1] here the Greek term, however, is not that rendered usually by righteousness, but a word which may mean the whole requirement of the law. Whether he be right or wrong, Beza did not lead them; they virtually followed Tyndale, "the righteousness required by the law."

Rom. xi, 32, "That he might have mercy upon all." Beza renders the last words, "all these,"[2] his explanation being "elect," viz.,—but he was not imitated.

1 Tim. ii, 4, "Who will have all men to be saved"; Beza translates,[3] "who will have any men to be saved."

1 Tim. ii, 6, "Gave himself a ransom for all"; Beza rendering[4] by the same pronoun. But the revisers of 1611 without hesitation disavow these unfaithful versions. 1 Tim. iv, 10, "Who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those who believe"; Beza preserves the "all," and he could not well attempt its alteration; but he changes "Saviour" into "Preserver," as if the statement referred to temporal preservation; and to show under what pressure he must have made the change, this is the only place in his New Testament where he has ventured on such a translation, which our version at once tosses aside, and follows all the earlier English translations.

[1] "Ut jus illud legis compleatur in nobis."

[2] "Omnes illos."

[3] "Qui quosvis homines."

[4] "Pro quibusvis."

If the Authorized Version, in connecting "all men" with "appeared," steps back from the true translation in Titus ii, 11, it is put in the margin; and there is no hesitation in rendering Heb. ii, 9, "that he . . . should taste death for every man," the defining supplement "man" not even printed in italics. Thus, while the revisers of 1611 were often tempted to follow Beza, they had often the courage to judge for themselves. At the same time some of the most erroneous marginal renderings came from Beza: Mark i, 34, "or, to say that they knew him"; similarly, Luke iv, 41; Acts i, 8, "or, the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you"; Rom. xi, 17, "or, for them."

The revisers occasionally fall from the full and simple meaning of the text. Sometimes they insert a diluting supplement. 2 Thess. iii, 5, in rendering the last clause "into the patient waiting for Christ," after Beza's "*expectationem*," they shrank from the real translation and put it into the margin, "into the patience of Christ." It was probably some felt incongruity in the true rendering, "leadeth us in triumph" (2 Cor. ii, 14), that prompted the inferior version, "causeth us to triumph," after Beza.

Though the charge of theological bias cannot be fully supported against the text, the margin, however, yields some examples.

Rom. iii, 25, text, "set forth"; margin, "foreordained"—a verb taken from the Vulgate, and occurring only once in the version, 1 Pet. i, 20, where it should be "foreknown." Rom. v, 12, text, "for that[1] all have sinned"; margin, "in whom all have sinned," after Augustine and Beza—a rendering which even Calvin himself did not adopt. "In which" is used in the Rheims,[2] but "forasmuch as" is the translation both in the Genevan and in the Bishops'.

[1] ἐφ' ᾧ. [2] Vulgate, "*in quo*."

CHAPTER XLVII.

THERE are, however, several things about the translation which detract somewhat from its great excellence. They can scarcely be said to be of the essence of it, but they are very closely connected with it. The fourteen original rules given to the Companies at Westminster, Oxford, and Cambridge, make no rfeerence to the use of supplemental words; but the sixth rule presented by the English deputies to the Synod of Dort was to this effect, "that the words necessary to be inserted into the text, in order to complete the sense, were to be distinguished by being printed in another and smaller character."[1] In a popular translation, such as that of the Bible, such supplemental words are indispensable in many places. But whatever accuracy might appear in their own copy, the printing was done in a very careless way, being devoid of all uniformity; and in the anxiety to be intelligible, or in their own phrase, "to be understood even of the very vulgar," the supplemental words were inserted with liberal allowances. To show how the supplemented words have been treated, and how largely such words have been put into italic types, it may be mentioned that in the first edition the eleventh chapter of John has no supplements printed in italics; that in the revised edition of 1638 it has fifteen words so marked; while some modern editions have as many as sixteen such terms.[2] In Exodus xxxii, 18, in the midst of twenty-five words, there are now eleven italic words,

[1] See page 201.

[2] Turton's Text of the English Bible, *passim*, Cambridge, 1833.

but only five in the first edition. In some New Testaments issued at Edinburgh, of last century, there is not a single word printed in italics from beginning to end of the volume. In the first edition these words were printed in Roman, the text being in black letter, but when it was printed in Roman, they were presented in italic letter. Some supplemental words are indispensable: Genesis xxi, 33, "*Abraham* planted"; xxv, 8, "full *of years*"; Exodus xxxiv, 7, "clear *the guilty*"; Numbers xv, 26, "gathered *unto his people*"; John iv, 33, "brought him *ought* to eat"; vi, 1, "the sea of Galilee, which is *the sea* of Tiberias"; xv, 18, "ye know that it hated me before *it hated* you"; 25, "this *cometh to pass*"; xix, 5, "and *Pilate* said unto them"—the proper name being introduced to give consecutive clearness to the narrative; 1 John ii, 2, "*the sins of* the whole world"; ii, 19, "*they went out.*" The Saviour's name is inserted often in the gospels where it is not required.

Not a few of the numerous italic words should be excluded. In many cases the supplement is included in the original idiom, as that of the substantive verb between a subject and a predicate—or in a simple assertion: Genesis ii, 12, "the gold of that land *is* good," or Matt. v, 3, "blessed *are* the poor in spirit." The supplied verb is really borne in by the original phrase as an essential portion of it, and needs not be put in italics. Of this kind there are numerous instances. There are other cases where the italic words introduced for the sake of connection may be often omitted, as the participle "*saying*" when the oblique form suddenly changes into the direct: "He spake, *saying*," "to curse and to swear, *saying*." Instances are perpetually occurring: Ps. xlv, 8, "an evil disease, *say they*, cleaveth fast unto him"; 1 Chron. xxiii, 5, "the instrument which I made, *said David*"; Acts i, 4, "which, *saith he*, ye have heard of me." The result of a previous condition, or contingence, is omitted sometimes in the original, but is supplied in the version; Luke xiii, 9, "if it bear fruit,—*well.*" The emphasis is more striking without any insertion in Exodus xxxii, 32, "yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and, if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book." There is

a host of idiomatic adjectives which contain their object in themselves, and many verbs have a similar pregnancy—as "dry *land*," "bitter *herbs*," "cold *water*," "draw *sword*," "draw *water*," "set *in array*," "tread *grapes*," "shut *the door*," "sitteth *on eggs*," "feed *the flock*"—and there is no weighty reason why such supplied terms should be in italics. Many particles are found in italics—"*like*," "*as*," a weakening of the Hebrew metaphor; "*and*," "*when*," "*though*," "*that*," having their origin in the change of the simple and sequent Hebrew clauses into the more intricate English syntax. Italics may be allowed for such words, if they cannot be omitted without detriment. There are also cases of zeugmas, as 1 Tim. iv, 3, "forbidding to marry, *and commanding* to abstain from meats"; 1 Cor. xiv, 34, "*they are commanded to be* under"; or the supplement is suggested by a previous clause, "as thou didst deal with my father, *even so deal with me*," 2 Chron. ii, 3; Ps. ix, 18, "the expectation of the poor shall *not* perish," the negative being carried from a previous clause. There are many expletives which might be dispensed with, as "even" and "namely." In John viii, 6, the whole clause inserted, "*as though he heard them not*," is from a various reading of no authority. Besides, many of the supplied words are directly expository: Gen. xviii, 28, "*for lack* of five"; Num. xiv, 28, "*as truly as* I live"; 2 Sam. v, 8, "*he shall be chief and captain*," taken from 1 Chron. xi, 6; 2 Kings x, 24, "*he that letteth him go*"; Psalms lviii, 7, "*his bow to shoot*"; 1 Peter v, 13, "*the church that is* at Babylon." The same practice is found in some doubtful cases: Job iii, 23, "*why is light given*"; 1 Chron. ix, 41, "*and Ahaz*," taken from viii, 35; 1 Chron. xxiv, 23, "the sons *of Hebron*"; "Jeriah, *the first*," taken from xxiii, 19. 2 Chron. xxiv, 6, "*according to the commandment*"; Job xix, 26, "*and though* after my skin *worms* destroy this *body*"; xxxv, 3, "*if I be cleansed*"; Ps. vii, 11, "God is angry *with the wicked* every day"; liv, 7, "*his desire*"; lxix, 22, "*that which should have been . . . let it become*"; 1 Cor. i, 26, "not many noble *are called*"; Deut. xxxiii, 6, "let *not* his men be few," directly the opposite of what the Hebrew asserts; Exodus,

xii, 36, "they lent unto them *such things as they required*"; Nehem. xii, 31, "*companies of them that gave*," also in 38 and 40; 2 Sam. xxiii, 8, "*he lift up his spear*." Several instances found in Samuel are borrowed from Chronicles.[1] "From" might be omitted three times in Matt. iv, 25, and "pray God" might be omitted in 1 Thess. v, 23, and in 2 Tim. iv, 16; "which is" might disappear from 1 Tim. i, 1; "who is" in Rev. i, 5; "with thee" in 2 Tim. iv, 13; Eccles. viii, 2, "I *counsel* thee; Ps. lxx, 1, "*make haste*"; Judges vii, 7, 8, "*the other* people . . . *the rest of* Israel; 2 Sam. i, 21, "*as though he had* not *been*"; 2 Sam. xv, 32, "*the mount*." Might not, "if possible" suffice for "*if it were possible*," Matt. xxiv, 24; "*the passover*" for "*the feast of the passover*"? Matt. xxvi, 2; "a wine-fat" for "*a place for* the wine-fat," Mark xii, 1; "*between us*" might be omitted in Eph. ii, 14; "*manner of*" in Rev. xxii, 2. In 1 Cor. xiv, 33, the supplement, "*the author*" should go out—"God is not the God of confusion"; nor is "*fellow*" very appropriate in Matt. xxvi, 61, and in various other places—it came from Tyndale. The supplied phrase, "*and looked*," is wholly uncalled for in John xx, 11. The words "*that had been*" are wrong in Matt. i, 6, though they are true in themselves, and "*in*" is wrong in ii, 6; "*the Father*" is a direct and doubtful exegesis in Col. i, 19. The words "*it will be*" only weaken the saying in Matt. xvi, 2, 3; the verses, however, are doubtful. The epithet "*unknown*" as applied to tongues in 1 Cor. xiv, 2, 4, 13, 14, has no right to be there, for it is an assumed explanation; while in the other verses it is not given, though the reference be the same as in verse 5, 6, 18, &c., and the words "*they are commanded*" are quite superfluous in the 34th verse of the same chapter, so is "*kind of*" in xv, 39; and "*was made*" in verse 45; "*henceforth*" in Eph. iv, 14, and it was not so printed in the first edition. 1 Cor. v, 3, reads, "for I verily as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present *concerning* him that hath so done this deed"; but "concerning" may be omitted, as "him" is the direct accusative or object to the verb judged, "concerning" being

[1] See Scrivener's Introduction to the Cambridge Bible, p. xxxiv.

probably suggested by the marginal reading "appointed" for judged, and as it is not printed in italic in the first edition. The epithet "*venomous*" is wholly unwarranted in Acts xxviii, 4; the beast was venomous, as the cry of the natives implies, but it is not called so by the historian, nor did the older versions use the adjective, and it is not printed in italics in the first edition. It may have been supposed to be contained in the Greek substantive, which is sometimes rendered "wild beast," but most frequently simply "beast," as in the following verse 5, and throughout the Apocalypse. Matt. xx, 23, reads, "to sit on my right hand and my left is not mine to give, but *it shall be given to them* for whom it is prepared of my father." This translation virtually represents Jesus as denying his supreme and blessed prerogative, and the italic words help out the perversion. The idiomatic brevity of the original must be made intelligible by some supplement, "is not mine to give but *to them* for whom." In the first edition the words are not italicized in the corresponding passage in Mark. In Ps. xix, 3, the italic words "*there is*" ... "*where*" completely mar the meaning, the margin giving the true sense. In 2 Cor. viii, 4, the phrase "*take upon us*" may be dispensed with, and a different reading justifies the omission. The words printed in italic in Heb. ii, 16, "*him the nature of* angels," are wrong in every sense, and the margin gives the true rendering. In Heb. vii, 19, "*did*" presents a wrong exegesis; "*the Lord*" is not needed in James ii, 1; and "*for us*" should not be in Heb. ix, 12.

Many supplements are thus interpretations. Num. v, 13, "*with the manner*"; 1 John iii, 16, "*of God*"; "*God*," "calling upon *God*," Acts vii, 59; 2 Cor. vi, 1, "*with him*"; Ps. lxxiii, 25, "*but thee*"; 1 John ii, 19, "*no doubt*"; Ps. xxvii, 8, "*when thou saidst*"; 13, "*I had fainted*"; Ps. cix, 4, "*give myself unto*"; Ps. xxxiv, 17, "*the righteous*"; Ps. cxi, 10, "*his commandments*"; Ps. cxxxix, 16, "*my members*"; 1 Cor. iv, 7, "*from another*"; 1 Peter i, 22, "*see that ye*"; Rev. iii, 12, "*I will write upon him*"; Mark xii, 34, "*any question*"; Matt. xxii, 46, "*questions*"; Luke xx, 40, "*question at all*," not found in italics in the earlier edition, and rightly,

because they are distinctly contained in the Greek verb. An opposite change has also been made in the edition of 1611. Gal. i, 8, has in different type the words, "*any other gospel*"; and in the following verse the same Greek is rendered by the same words, but without any change of type. The words are contained in the Greek verb, and since 1638 italics have been properly dispensed with. Why intrude the words "*because I know*" in Acts xxvi, 3? The literal rendering does not stand in need of any ekeing out whatever: "I think myself happy that I am to answer for myself this day before thee . . . because thou art expert in all customs"—the verbose supplement may have been suggested by the change of case in the Greek.

The following are unwarranted supplements: Acts xxvii, 44, "*broken pieces* of the ship"—the words are an interpolation. Gal. iii, 24, "our schoolmaster *to bring us* unto Christ," "schoolmaster" not being the true rendering; Col. i, 4, "*which ye have*"; v. 16, "*they be*"; iii, 4, "*who is*"; Luke xviii, 16, "*unto him*"; 31, "*unto him*," for in both the compound verb contains the idea conveyed in the italic words; Matt. xxiv, 40, reads, "then shall two be in the field," but "two men" should have been the rendering; and with the usual inconsistency the following verse reads, "two *women* shall be grinding at the mill," the proper translation, but women should not be in italics, as the gender of the participle suggests or demands it. Similarly in Luke xvii, 34, "men" is implied in the gender of the numeral and adjective, and "women" in the participle "grinding"; in verse 36 the same thing occurs, but the margin declares that the verse is "wanting in most of the Greek copies." A possessive pronoun representing the article need not in ordinary cases be put into italics: Matt. x, 1, "he called *unto* him *his* twelve disciples"; and "*unto*" need not be put in italics, for it is in the compound middle verb; Romans xi, 4, "*the image of* Baal," the italicized words being quite needless; and in Psalms cxxxvii, 5, "*her cunning*" is an explanation.

According to the statement of the English deputies at the Synod of Dort, the Headings were made by command. The

last or seventh rule which they enumerated, was that "new arguments should be prefixed to each book, and new contents to each chapter."[1] The headings or contents of the chapters are interesting, and their quaint language has been glanced at. But some are manifestly wrong: 2 Sam. xxiv, "eleven thousand fighting men," for "thirteen hundred thousand"; 1 Cor. v, "human offenders to be shamed," instead of "shunned." Some of them, instead of being a brief index, are a commentary, which is occasionally doubtful, and at other times wrong. Luke vii, the woman that was a sinner is called Mary Magdalene, Gen, xxxii, 24, Jacob wrestleth with "an angel," but "a man" is the language of the text. Similarly, Gen. xviii, Abraham entertaineth three "angels," three "men" being the phrase in the text; Ps. cxxvii, "Good children are his gift," but the text has no allusion to their character; Acts vi, "appoint the office of deaconship to seven chosen men," but the office is not so named in the text; Acts vii, 44, "ceremonies to last but for a time." The prophecies are usually expounded, as in Deut. xviii, Christ the prophet; Psalms ii, the kingdom of Christ; Isaiah ii, iv, and in many other places; nay, "his Substitution" occurs in Isaiah xxii, by a far-fetched exegesis. In like manner, the church is often set forth as a distinct application of prophecy. The headings of the Song of Solomon are a continuous commentary, Christ and the church being prefixed to every chapter. The edition of Matthew or Rogers had set the example in 1537.[1] Such commentary goes far beyond translation, and intrudes into a forbidden province. There is also a peculiar comment on 1 Tim. ii, 15, and there is a long note in the heading of 1 John i, whether true or false. Surely the phrase Ps. cxii is more than the psalm warrants, "Godliness hath the promise of this life and of the life to come." Yet those who made these summaries must have acted under some restraint, for in spite of temptation to expound, they give at Num. xxiv, "He prophesieth of the star of Jacob," and they do not uniformly spiritualize in the Song, but say once with a hybrid application, "Christ directeth her to the shepherds' tents." There is no proof that Nimrod was "the first monarch,"

[1] See vol. I, p. 329.

as stated in Gen. x. It is one thing that the text, 2 Kings xx, speaks of "the shadow" returning backwards ten degrees, but quite another thing that the summary says, "the sun goeth ten degrees backward," though the language occurs in Isaiah xxxviii. At Rev. xxii it is said, "nothing may be added to the word of God nor taken therefrom," but the text speaks only of "the book of this prophecy," that is, the Apocalypse. One heading is of a peculiar character, Ps. cxlix, "the prophet exhorteth to praise God for his love to the church, and for that power which he hath given to the church to rule the consciences of men." But by and by it ended at the first clause, "love to the church." One edition of 1649 with Genevan notes makes the last clause "power . . . for the conversion of sinners." Blayney changed the heading into "that power which he hath given to his saints," and it is found sometimes more briefly "the prophet exhorteth to praise God."

So vague was the information on some of these points, that in the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to examine into the Queen's printer's patent, and which sat in 1860, it was asked of one person examined before it, "If the Authorized Version in Scotland was the same as that in England?" The Chairman put the question, "Was it not in the year 1680 that the italics were first introduced?"—Answer: "I do not know." "Do you know with what object they were introduced?" A well-known publisher could not tell the year in which the Authorized Version was first published. Another witness, "a prophet and a prophet's son," used these words, "The Conference at Hampton Court, usually called the Savoy Conference," and apparently no one corrected him.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE printing of the Bible seems up till 1576 to have been open to any who could obtain a royal license. Wilkes, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to France, Holland, and Germany, enjoyed for some time the privilege of being "her Majesty's printer of the English language." This patent was sold in part to John Jugge, the son of the printer of the Bishops' Bible, amidst the protests of 175 members of the Stationers' Company, and of 185 dealers in books. Another patent, more extensive, was sold by Wilkes in 1579 to Christopher Barker for a "great sum." In 1589 Christopher Barker obtained a direct patent for himself and his son Robert who outlived him forty-six years, and died an imprisoned debtor. This patent embraced "all Bibles and Testaments whatever in the English tongue, with notes or without notes, printed before then or afterwards to be printed by our command." Robert Barker obtained in 1612 a patent for his eldest son Christopher, to be held after his father's death; but this son dying in 1617, the patent, to last for thirty years, was transferred to the second son Robert. The Barkers then assigned their right to Bonham Norton and John Bill; and in 1635 Robert Barker paid £600 for the patent already enjoyed by his two elder sons, to be held in reversion by his younger sons, Charles and Matthew. The Barkers thus held the patent virtually till 1709, a period of 130 years, when the Basketts got it and kept it for 90 years or till 1799, the last thirty years of this term being assigned, however, to Charles Eyre and his heirs for £10,000. Eyre took possession in 1769, and assumed William Strahan

as partner, and the patent came in course of time into the hands of the present possessors, Eyre & Spottiswoode.[1]

As told on page 33, Barker had been in the service of Walsingham and had his patron's crest, a tiger's head, over his shop in Paternoster Row; and the same symbol occurs in the initial letter of Psalm cxii, in the edition of 1611, and similarly at Psalms xxxv, cxii, cxiii, in the edition of 1617. The Barkers honoured Cecil, also, in a similar way, by inserting his arms in capital letters in their Bibles, as in the initial B, of Psalm i, of the editions of 1634 and 1640.

But as the patent descended through these years there were various changes in the names appearing on the title-page of the Bible, and though only one date is given in the following clauses, the same names usually continued for several years. In 1620 the printers are Robert Barker & John Bill; in 1631, Robert Barker & the Assignees of John Bill; in 1666, John Bill & Christopher Barker; in 1679, John Bill, Thomas Newcomb, & Henry Hills; in 1690, Charles Bill & the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb; in 1728, John Baskett & the Assigns of Henry Hills; in 1769, Thomas Baskett & the Assigns of Robert Baskett; in 1806, George Eyre & Andrew Strahan. The Universities at the same time had their own printers.

It is a gross but a natural mistake to imagine that these patents were given to secure correct and careful printing. They are simply a royal gift to a public servant or a favourite, with or without a pecuniary return. They contain no injunction as to correctness, and provide no penalty for inaccuracy.

The following pages are not meant to present a systematic Bibliography; only a very few distinctive editions of the English Bible are noticed, so that we do not stir the question as to the names that ought to be given to certain forms and sizes of the volumes. A description of various lists of English Bibles (Tutet, Ducarel, and Ames being included), may be found in Cotton's preface to his "Editions of the English Bible." The long list published by Lea Wilson contains only the copies in his own library; and though he got

[1] Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1860.

into confusion about the issues of 1611, he has given useful accounts of many editions. Loftie's "Century of Bibles" contains much interesting information; and in his Appendix he has printed a list of the copies of the Authorized Version in the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library, in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, in that of Mr. Francis Fry of Bristol, and in the Royal Library at Stuttgart. The large collection of Bibles belonging to the late Mr. Euing, of Glasgow, has been bequeathed by him to the library of the University.

The revised copy or copies of the Bishops' Bible used at press have not been preserved. A volume in the Bodleian Library, an edition of 1602, with corrections, has been sometimes taken for one of them; but Canon Westcott clearly proves the incorrectness of the opinion, from the nature of the marks and notes. Kilburne's Tract,[1] published in 1659, contains this curious protest, that the printing of Bibles should "not be solely appropriated to Mr. Hill and Mr. Field, on pretence of their purchasing the translated copy made in anno 1611, and unduly entering it lately as their private copy, and for their sole property in the Stationers' Register." It seems to be beyond doubt that the revisers wrought upon a copy of the edition of 1602, a reprint of that of 1572, and certainly not upon a copy of the first edition of 1568, as has been sometimes conjectured.

It might be anticipated that a patentee would at a new epoch endeavour to produce an immaculate edition, as he had no fear of rivalry, and could command his own price. But the result has been far otherwise. Barker looked, however, to the sale and dispersion of the first editions, for there were two competitors in the market. It was meant to succeed and supplant the Bishops', of which it was a professed revision, and

[1] Kilburne's Tract has been reprinted by Mr. Loftie in his Century of Bibles, London, 1872. The title of the Tract, a copy of which is in the British Museum, is "Dangerous Errors in several late printed Bibles; to the great scandal and corruption of sound and true religion. Discovered by William Kilburne, Gent. Printed at Finsbury, anno 1659.

the change was speedily and easily effected. The two books were brought into artistic correspondence by the employment in King James' Bible of the same head pieces, woodcuts, and other embellishments, which had appeared in the Bishops'. The figure of Neptune with his trident and horses, which appears so often in the Bishops', stands at the beginning of Matthew. The figure wants freshness, for the cut had not even been touched up for its present position. But the Genevan was a more formidable rival; and the new Bible was also made to correspond externally in many ways with this older and very popular version. The title-page of the smaller editions of 1612-1613 is a facsimile in its ornamentation of that so often found in copies of the Genevan, the title being in the heart-shaped oval, with the twelve tribes and the twelve apostles in the margin. The quarto Bibles and the octavo New Testaments had usually this plate.[1] The issue of 1616, the first folio in Roman letter, appropriated a design already used in the Bishops', the arms of James being substituted for those of Elizabeth, and the dragon giving way to the unicorn. Before the year 1640, Barker and his successors had issued fifty editions, five in goodly black letter folio in 1611, -13, -17, -34, -40. By this time also two editions had also been published in Edinburgh, and ten at Cambridge.

But the printing itself is from the beginning marked by many serious blunders, and those who saw the first edition through the press did not exercise a strict and continuous supervision. What are called the first and second issues[2] of 1611 are disfigured by many errors. A portion of a verse is printed twice in the one issue, Exodus xiv, 10. "Judas" stands for "Jesus"[3] in the other (Matt. xxvi, 36), with Christ spelled "Chkist,"

[1] Cotton says that the latest Geneva Bible he had seen was one of 1644, printed at Amsterdam. It might have been stated on a previous occasion that Andrewes, one of the translators and the director of the Westminster Old Testament Company, usually took his text from the Genevan, and as often after 1611 as before it.

[2] See page 202.

[3] When a copy came into my possession, it had a slip with "Jesus" printed on it very neatly pasted over "Judas."

and "OE" for "OF" in the Dedication, while in the list of books 1 and 2 Chronicles are put down as 1 and 2 Corinthians. Exodus ix, 13, reads, "Let my people go that they may serve thee," for "serve me." The following are a sample of misprints in what has been commonly called the first issue: Gen. x, 16, "Emorite" for "Amorite"; Exodus xxxviii, 11, "hoops" for "hooks"; Lev. xiii, 56, "the plaine be" for "the plague be"; xvii, 14, "ye shall not eat" for "ye shall eat"; Ezra iii, 5, the word "offered" is repeated. Isaiah xlix, 20, "the place is too straight" for "strait," though the first is an older form of spelling; Jer. xxii, 3, "deliver the spoiler" for "the spoiled"; l, 29, "she hath done unto her" for "she hath done, do unto her"; Ezek. vi, 8, "that he may have" for "ye may have"; xxiv, 7, "poured it" for "poured it not"; Hosea vi, 5, "shewed them" for "hewed them"; Mal. i, 8, "if he offer" for "if ye offer"; Matt. vi, 3, "right" for "right hand"; viii, 25, "awoke" for "awoke him"; xvi, 25, "his" is repeated; 1 Cor. xiv, 23, "come together into some place," but rightly given in xi, 20, "into one place." The headline 2 Chron. xxix is printed xxxix, and the headline Micah iv is printed "Joel"; Gen. xvii, heading Isaac is spelled "Izsaac." On the top of the column containing the portion of 1 Esdras iv, Apocrypha is printed Anocrynha. For its errors and inconsistencies the first edition cannot, therefore, be regarded as a standard edition. There are also capricious irregularities in the printing of the supplemental words. The edition of 1613 is still worse, for though it corrects some errors of the first issues, it has many of its own; Lev. vii, 25, "the fast of the beast" for "the fat of the beast"; xix, 10, "shall glean" for "shall not glean"; xxvi, 24, "wake contrary" for "walk contrary"; Deut. xix, 5, "slippeth from the helm" for "the helve"; 1 Sam. x, 16, "water" for "matter"; 2 Kings xxii, 3, "were" for "year"; 2 Chron. vi, 10, "in the throne of David" for "in the room of David"; Neh. x, 31, "we would not leave" for "we would leave"; Job xxix, 3, "shined through darkness" for "walked through darkness"; Isaiah lix, 7, "shed bleed" for "shed innocent blood"; Ezek. xxiii, 7, "she delighted herself" for "she defiled herself"; Dan. iv, 13, "a watcher holy and an one" for "a

watcher and an holy one"; 1 Cor. xi, 17, "I praise you" for "I praise you not"; 2 Cor. ii, 8, "continue your love" for "confirm your love." There are several clauses and verses omitted altogether, as 1 Kings iii, 15, the clause "and offered peace offerings"; Hab. ii, 5, "nations, and heapeth unto him all"; Matt. xiii, 8, "and some sixtyfold"; xvi, 11, "I spake it not to you concerning bread, that"; John xx, 25, "put my finger into the prints of the nails"; and verses 13 and 14 in Ecclesiasticus xvi are also left out. In fact, between the edition of 1611 and that of 1613 there are more than three hundred variations, and such differences as the following occur in the headings, in 1611, 2 Sam. xxiv, eleven thousand, but in 1613 thirteen hundred thousand; in the one edition, "Haggai promiseth God's assistance," but in 1613, "promiseth God, assistance." Some of the changes look like attempted improvements, as Gen. xxvii, 44, "fury pass away" for "turn away"; Mark ix, 24, "help my unbelief" for "help thou mine unbelief"; John v, 3, "a great company" for "a great multitude." In the edition of 1634, there is an important change which has kept its ground. Heb. xii, 1, "let us runne with patience the race set before us," the issues of 1611, -13, -17 having "let us runne with patience unto the race," the Great Bible and the Bishops had "into the battayle." One deviation occurred very early: Ruth iii, 15, "and she went into the city," "he" being in the so-called first issue, but "she," a mistranslation, found its way into the second, and kept its place in both the folio and smaller edition of 1613. "She" is preferred by Jerome, but the Hebrew verb is masculine. A similar variation occurs in the Song of Solomon ii, 7; iii, 5; viii, 4, "till she please" being the rendering in the first place, but "till he please" being the rendering in the second and third places, while the same Hebrew is found in all the instances. In the second issue "till he please" is the uniform rendering. The first New Testament in 12mo, black letter, appeared in 1611, and is now in the collection of Mr. Lenox of New York. The first quarto edition of the Bible in Roman letter has the date of 1612, and has in it several of the errors already specified in the issues of 1611. The names

of Bonham Norton and John Bill appear first on a quarto edition of 1619. In an edition printed by Barker & Bill in 1631, the "not" was left out in the Seventh Commandment, Exod. xx, 14, and it stood, "Thou shalt commit adultery."[1] The printer was fined £300 by Laud, the money being used to purchase a fount of Greek types for the use of the Universities. It would take a goodly volume to contain the misprints of the various editions. There are also many variations from the issues of 1611. Rom. xii, 2, "what is that good, that acceptable, and perfect will of God," passed into the present more literal reading in 1629. In the same way "helps in government," 1 Cor. xii, 28, became in the same year, more correctly, "helps, governments"; "approved to death," 1 Cor. iv, 9, became "appointed to death" as early as 1616; and the clause "hath not the Son," 1 John v, 12, had the "of God" rightly added, according to the original text. "Drusilla which was a Jew," Acts xxiv, 24, became in 1629 "which was a Jewess," as in Acts xvi, 1. In 1 Tim. i, 4, "godly" was inserted before "edifying" as early as 1633; and in 1 Cor. iv, 13, "world" of the early editions was turned into "earth" in an edition of 1806.

A folio edition, London (Augustine Matthews), 1633, is a reprint of Fulkes' edition of 1589, the "Text of the New Testament," which had the Rheims version printed in the one column, and the Bishops' in the other; but in this edition the Authorized is substituted for the Bishops'.

The Cambridge edition of 1629 was revised with some care, and many necessary alterations were made, the editor being unknown. Yet out of this revision sprang an error which kept its place, in hosts of editions, for more than a hundred years—viz., "thy" for "the" in 1 Tim. iv, 16, "take heed to thy doctrine" for "the doctrine."

But the good example of 1629 was not followed. An edition in 12mo, professing to be by Barker and assignes of Bill, in 1638, abounds in errors. The following may be noted: Gen. xxxvii, 2, "Belial" for "Bilhah"; Num. xxv, 18, "wives" for "wiles"; xxvi, 10, "two thousand

[1] It has 1631 both on title and colophon.

and fifty" for "hundred and fifty"; 2 Sam. xxiii, 20, "slew two lions like men" for "lion like men"; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 14, "had polluted" for "had hallowed"; Nehem. iv, 9, "read our prayer" for "made our prayer"; Isa, i, 6, "purifying sores," for "putrefying sores"; xxix, 13, "taught by the people" for "taught by the precept"; xlix, 22, "their sons" for "thy sons"; Ezek. v, 11, "any piety" for "any pity"; Luke vii, 47, "her sins which are many are forgotten" for "forgiven"; xix, 29, "ten of his disciples" for "two"; John xviii, 29, "Pilate went not" for "went out"; 1 Cor. vii, 34, "praise her husband" for "please"; 1 Tim. ii, 9, "shamefulness" for "shamefacedness"; iv, 16, "thy" for "the" doctrine.[1]

The first edition avowedly printed abroad appeared in 1642 folio (Joost Broerss, Amsterdam), and it was furnished with the Genevan notes. Another and similar edition was published in the same place in 1683, as the maps have engraven on them "At Amsterdam, by Nicolaus Visscher, with privilege of the Lords the States Generall," and, as some suppose, it was printed probably by Swartz or his widow. In 1645 were published two editions "according to the copy printed by Roger Daniel," and a third issue, in 12mo, by Joachim Nosche, dwelling upon the Sea Dijck.

In 1638 appeared the famous folio of Buck & Daniel. The edition of 1611 was thoroughly revised by such scholars as Ward, Goad, Boyse, and Mead, &c. This revision, said to have been made by royal command, was much needed. Greater consistency was secured in the printing of the italic words, and many useful changes were introduced; so that it was regarded as the "authentique corrected Bible." Yet, with all the earnest care and labour given to this issue, there began in

[1] This edition is referred to by Baillie in his "Opus Historicum et Chronologicum," p. 55, Amstelodami, 1663. Baillie says that the edition was printed at Amsterdam, and was one among many sent across from Holland, all of them abounding in blunders. Kilburne says of these Bibles, in the Tract referred to, that though dated 1638, they were imported in 1656, adding "wherein Mr. Kiffin and Mr. Hills cannot be excused, being contrary to the several Acts of Parliament of 20th Sept., 1649, and 7th Jany., 1652, for regulating of printing."

it an error which lived for half a century—viz., the printing of "ye" for "we"—"whom ye may appoint," Acts vi, 3. The Independents were blamed for making the change, to favour their own polity. But they had no power in 1638 to secure such an alteration, for Laud was still primate, and also a visitor of the University of Cambridge. As the error appeared also in two Scottish editions of 1673 and 1675, a similar charge was made against Presbyterians, that they "handled the Word of God deceitfully."[1] The accusation must have been made in ignorance of what Presbyterian administration really is, for it has never dreamed of assigning to the laity the power of ordination. Presbyterians were utterly powerless in those years; but the General Assembly felt hurt by the insinuation, and at their meeting in January, 1698, they solemnly declared that they do not "own any other reading of that text, but 'whom we may appoint.'" Mr. Loftie speaks of the misprint as being "found in many Bibles supposed to be printed for the Puritans." What editions are those which are so specified—for the misprint was apparently in the great majority of editions? Did any disciple of Owen, or any intelligent Congregationalist, ever base an argument on the misprint? It is notable, too, that in an edition of 1649, furnished with Genevan Notes, and therefore favoured by Puritans, the reading is correct.

This fine folio was highly coveted. Sir Matthew Hale, the Chief Justice, in his will left Richard Baxter "forty shillings as a token of his love." Baxter records,[2] "I purchased the largest Cambridge Bible, and put his picture before it, as a monument to my house. But waiting for my own death, I gave it Sir William Ellis, who laid out about ten pounds to put it into a more curious cover, and keep it for a monument in his honour." A shrewd observer of manners and habits tells of a lady in Edinburgh who had fallen into poorer circumstances, and lived in a room "on the head of the highest stair in the Covenant Close,"—that "she never read a chapter except out of a Cambridge Bible, printed by Daniel, and bound in embroidered velvet."[3]

[1] The accuser was Mr. Gipps, Rector of Bury.

[2] Baxter's Works, vol. I, p. 337.

[3] Scott, in Redgauntlet.

A 12mo edition of 1653 is sometimes called the Quaker's Bible, for no other apparent reason than that the publisher, Giles Calvert, printed for many Friends. But some Friends at a later season did contemplate an edition for themselves, so remodelled as to be fitted "for audible and social reading." The Pentateuch alone was published. York, 1835. An octavo edition of 1655 (E. T. "for a Society of Stationers"), has the honour of being correct in the two places where so many issues blundered, having "we" in Acts vi, 3, and "the" in 1 Tim. iv, 16.

At an early period, good people became alarmed by the number and variety of the readings, and in 1644 some members of the Westminster Assembly complained to the House of Commons, "that there were errors and corruptions in diverse Bibles of an impression from beyond the seas, and they prayed the House to suppress the circulation of them."[1] The result was that foreign Bibles were not to be sold or circulated till they had been "passed and allowed" by the Assembly of Divines. In 1656, the "Grand Committee for Religion" took into consideration an edition by Field, 1653, especially an impression in 24mo of which he had sold 2,000 copies, and they got into their possession no less than 7,900 copies. Kilburne in his Tract stigmatizes the impressions of Henry Hill and John Field, particularly Field's edition of 1656, as containing 91 notorious faults, 2 Cor. xiii, 6, being omitted altogether.[2]

[1] Christopher Ravius, in the preface to Prima Pars Alcorani Arabico-Latini, Amsterdam, 1646, states without hesitation that an English printer had within the last five years sent out from his press not fewer than 40,000 copies of the English Bible, that his last edition consisted of 12,500 copies, and that in the same city as many as 150,000 English Bibles had been printed.

[2] Such errors are in the various editions, as Gen. xxxvi, 24, "rulers in the wilderness" for "mules"; Ruth iv, 13, "corruption" for "conception"; Luke xxi, 28, "condemnation" for "redemption"; the omission of a clause in John xi, 21; "the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of God," in 1 Cor. vi, 9; "instruments of righteousness for sin," Rom. vi, 13; John v, 23, "Bethsaida" for "Bethesda"; "their flesh" for "fish." An edition by Mr. Robinson, "a Scotch Rabbi," is condemned as having 2,000 faults,

Kilburne asserts: "Moreover during the time of the late parliament, great numbers of Bibles, in a large 12mo volume, were imported from Holland in 1656 with this false title, Imprinted at London by Rob. Barker, &c., anno 1638, wherein Mr. Kiffin and Mr. Hills cannot be excused (if reports be true), being contrary to the several Acts of Parliament of 20th September, 1649, and 7th January, 1652, for regulating of printing. Wherein are so many notorious Erratas, false English, Nonsense, and Corruptions, that in reading part of Genesis I found 80 grand faults, as chap. xxvii, 16, 'mouth of his neck' for 'smooth of his neck'; chap. xxix, 13, 'she' for 'he ran to meet him'; chap. xxx, 40, 'put them unto' for 'put them not unto Laban's cattle.' And in reading Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the first twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, I found almost an hundred gross faults, which I did specifie to the Parliament, and therefore omit them here. The very importation of the books being an offence contrary to the said Statutes and ought deservedly to be suppressed; which notwithstanding are dispersed in the country as aforesaid." And he thus concludes: "That it will graciously please his divine Majesty of his infinite goodness, and mercy, to bless this Common-wealth with the like dispensation of his blessed Word in our proper Dialect, and speech as it is in the original Idiomes, by the Zeal and Patronage of his Highness, and the Parliament. And that for the private Emolument of any persons (how great soever), the Scriptures may not be hereafter carelessly and erroneously printed, whereby to save the charge of good Correction and Printing, as may be plainly proved by such Bibles, which have been printed in late years, or else (as is pretended) the profit will not countervaile the charge. For, as it is credibly reported, Mr. Hills and Mr. Fields have several times affirmed, that they are engaged to pay £500 per Annum

besides base paper and printing,— "loves" for "loaves," "ram" for "lamb," "good" for "god," "mount" for "smooth." Six thousand errors are said to be in one edition.

As late as 1792, an Oxford copy has, Luke xxii, 34, "I tell thee, Philip," for "Peter," predicting the denial. In a Cambridge Bible of 1816 "sun" is given as "son" in the phrase "Sun of righteousness," Mal. iv, 2.

to some, whose names out of respect to them I forbear to mention, over and above £100 per Annum to Mr. Marchamont Needham, and his wife, out of the profits of the sale of their Bibles, deriding, insulting, and triumphing over others of the Printing Mysterie, out of their confidence in their great Friends and purse, as it is said, as if they were lawlesse, and free (notwithstanding the truth of the premises and other grand enormities often committed by them) both from offence and punishment, to the great dishonour of the Common-wealth in general, and dammage of many private persons in particular."

During the Commonwealth, very many editions bear on the title-page "London Company of Stationers," and many after 1675 are dated "Oxford at the Theater." Those last copies were sold in London by various booksellers. The colophon of one edition has, "Printed at the Theater in Oxford, and are to be sold by Moses Pitt, at the Angel in St. Paul's Churchyard; John Parker, at the Leg and Star over against the Exchange in Cornhill; Thomas Guy, at the corner of Little Lombard Street; and William Leake, at the Crown in Fleet Street." Many copies were disposed of by Thomas Guy, who also imported Bibles from the Continent, and left his fortune to build the great Hospital that bears his name. The story about Field's Pearl Bible, as told by Isaac Disraeli, is exaggerated, and the errors are at once ascribed by him to the wilful perversions and malignity of the "Sectarists." One specimen may suffice. His words are, "It is said that Field received a present of £1,500 from the Independents to corrupt a text in Acts vi, 3, the corruption being the easiest possible, to put a *ye* instead of a *we*."[1] But Field had nothing to do with the error, for it had appeared fifteen years before, and is first found, as we have seen, in the Cambridge folio of 1638, revised by divines of the Church of England, at a time, too, when Disraeli's idol, King Charles I, was upon the throne.

As late as the period of the Commonwealth, there was still a hankering after notes, similar to the Genevan ones. "Divers of the printers and stationers of London were induced to petition the Committee of the House of Commons for license to print

[1] Curiosities of Literature, vol. III, p. 427, London, 1858.

them, after some revision fitting to the present version." The petition was granted in 1644, with an order for revision and correction, "for which letters were directed to some of us from the Chair of the Committee for religion, and invitations to others to undertake and divide the task, being furnished with whatever books were needful." About five years after, the fruit of these labours appeared in a folio volume, known by the name of the "Assembly's Annotations." The second edition, 1651, grew into two volumes; but in the preface the authors say that the comments were really and originally meant for marginal notes, "of the same size as the text, lest the border should be larger than the skirt of the coat, and the wing of the page than the main book." What was intended for mere marginal notes grew into "an entire commentary on the Sacred Scriptures, the like never before published in English." These volumes are usually, but wrongly, called the Assembly's Annotations. Several of those that were concerned in it were members of the Assembly; but it was not undertaken by the direction or with the consent of the Assembly; nor were the "more part" of the authors ever members of the Assembly; nor did the Assembly revise or sanction the work when it was finished. "However," says Calamy, "it was a good work in its season, and I shall add the names of the true authors, as far as my best inquiry would help me to intelligence—Mr. Ley, Sub-Dean of Chester, did the Pentateuch; Dr. Gouge had the two books of Kings and Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther for his province; Mr. Meric Casaubon did the Psalms; Mr. Francis Taylor the Proverbs; and Dr. Reynolds, Ecclesiastes; Mr. Swalwood, who was recommended by Archbishop Usher, did Solomon's Song; the learned Gataker did Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, and is, in the opinion of many competent judges, exceeded by no commentator, ancient or modern, on those books. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the small Prophets, were in the first edition done by Mr. Pemberton, and in the second by Bishop Richardson. The Notes on the four Evangelists are Mr. Ley's; and those on St. Paul's Epistles, Dr. Featley's, which latter are broken and imperfect, on the account of the author's

dying before he had revised or finished them. There were also two other persons concerned in this work—viz., Dr. Downame and Mr. Reading, who might probably have the other parts of Scripture allotted them, that are not here mentioned."[1] The desire for the old Notes still remained, as may be seen in this extract from a MS. letter, dated 1664, from the Rev. John Allen, in London, to his friend at Rye:—"I cannot yet get a Bible for the old woman, but one printed 1661, 12s. price, and 6d. if claspet; but I count that too deare, and not of the edition she desires, with Beza's Annotations;" that is, some edition of the Genevan, or an edition of the Authorized Version, with the Genevan notes, like that of 1649.[2]

Lightfoot in 1643 had inveighed against the Apocrypha in a sermon preached before the House of Commons, in St. Margaret's, Westminster, at the public fast: "The words of the text are the last words of the Old Testament—there uttered by a prophet, here expounded by an angel—there concluding the law, and here beginning the gospel. 'Behold,' saith Malachi, 'I will send you Elijah the prophet;' and he saith, the angel 'shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias.' And 'he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,' saith the one; and 'to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,' saith the other. Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between, like the two cherubins in the temple-oracle, as with their outer wings they touch the two sides of the house, from 'in the beginning,' to 'come, Lord Jesus'; so, with their inner, they would touch each other, the end of the law with the beginning of the Gospel, did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder. . . . But it is a wonder, to which I could never yet receive satisfaction, that in churches that are reformed, they have shaken off the yoke of superstition, and unpinned themselves from off the sleeve of former customs, or doing as their ancestors have done; yet in such a

[1] Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life and Times, vol. I, page 86, 2nd edition, London, 1713.

[2] Notes and Queries, 2nd edition, vol. III, page 16.

thing as this, and of so great import, should do as first ignorance, and then superstition, hath done before them. It is true, indeed, that they have refused these books out of the canon, but they have reserved them still in the Bible, as if God should have cast Adam out of the state of happiness, and yet have continued him in the place of happiness. Not to insist upon this, which is some digression, you know the counsel of Sarah concerning Ishmael, and in that she outstripped Abraham in the spirit of prophecy, 'Cast out the bond-woman and her son; for the son of the bond-woman may not be heir with the son of the free.'"[1]

Many members of the Church of England may have been of Lightfoot's opinion, but the Puritans were more decided, Tyndale had translated some portions of the Apocrypha to serve as church lessons. Coverdale accepted it, Rogers admitted it under a species of protest, the Great Bible and the Bishops' had it, and the Genevan copies usually included it. With all its absurdities, fables, and inconsistencies, it exhibits a great body of Jewish thought and theology, which may be faintly traced either in idea, imagery, or diction, in a few parts of the New Testament. It was about this time that Bibles were printed having the canonical books only. When, in 1645, a Book of Prayers was compiled for the navy, the Apocrypha was ignored. At the prosecution, as early as 1633, before the Star Chamber, of the Recorder of Salisbury, for breaking some painted glass in a church, Chief-Justice Richardson threw in a word in favour of the defendant: "I have been long acquainted with him, he sitteth by me sometimes at church, he brought a Bible to church with him (I have seen it), with the Apocrypha and Common Prayer Book in it, not of the new cut."[2]

There was a heavy folio on large paper published in 1660-59 (Field, Cambridge), of which Pepys records, in his Diary, 27th May, 1667, "There came Richardson the bookbinder, with one

[1] Works, vol. VI, p. 130, ed. Pitman, London, 1822. Similar remarks may be found in his curious and interesting treatise, Erubhin or Miscellanies, Works, vol. IV, p. 30.

[2] Campbell's Chief Justices, vol. II, p. 17.

of Ogilby's Bibles in quires, for me to see and buy . . . but it is like to be so big that I shall not use it." An edition of 1682 (Bill, Newcomb, & Hills), has errors on nearly every page—errors like the following: Gen. ix, 5, "at the hand of man," omitted; xxi, 26, "neither didst thou tell me," omitted; xxx, 35, "and all the brown among the sheep," omitted; Deut. xxiv, 3, "if the latter husband ate her," for "hate her"; Esther vi, 2, "kings," for "keepers"; Jerem. xiii, 27, "adversaries" for "adulteries"; xvi, 6, "glad" for "bald"; xviii, 21, "swine," for "famine"; Ezek. xviii, 25, "the way of the Lord is equal," for "not equal."

A folio edition of becoming appearance was published in 1701, under the patronage of Archbishop Tennison; London, C. Bill, and the executrix of T. Newcomb. It was graced with chronological notes and a collection of parallel passages, by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester; a table of measures, weights, and coins being added by Dr. Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough. The margin also noted the connection of the passages with the Book of Common Prayer. But this edition, like so many of its predecessors, was disfigured by inaccurate printing—by what Lewis calls "typographical erratas." Lewis writes, "Two years afterwards, in 1703, the Lower House of Convocation took up the subject and presented to the Upper House a humble representation of several gross errors in late editions of the Holy Bible." But no record of such transactions survives. It would seem that the privileged presses were very careless, for their patent lifted them above all fear of competition.

The edition of Dr. Paris, Cambridge, 1762, though it embodied "large corrections in the particulars," left many places untouched where change was necessary, those changes being introduced, not on his own judgment singly, but after an examination by a "Select Committee," particularly the Principal of Hertford College and Professor Wheeler. Errors, however, crept in, especially in the margin and in the italics. This edition, which was nearly all destroyed by a fire, was far from being immaculate, and several of its errors were repeated in the more famous edition of Dr. Blayney.

The edition of Dr. Blayney (Oxford, Wright & Gill,

1769) has been long regarded as a standard edition. The editor bestowed uncommon pains upon it. He collated the original edition of 1611, that of Bishop Lloyd, 1701, and two Cambridge editions in quarto and octavo, and discovered and corrected many errors, "so that the text is reformed to such a standard of purity as it is presumed is not to be met with in any other edition hitherto extant." The punctuation was also carefully attended to as to correctness and uniformity, and the labours of Dr. Paris on the italic words were largely supplemented. Alterations were made on the heads or contents of the chapters and the running titles of each page; and "the meaning of those proper names, to the etymology of which there is allusion in the text, were supplied in the margin." Immense pains were bestowed on the marginal references, which had been erroneously printed in so many editions. In some few instances Dr. Blayney confesses himself to have been "at a loss in finding out the true reference, though the corruption was manifest in the want of any the most distant resemblance between the passages compared together." These references were cautiously examined, particularly those of Bishop Lloyd's Bible and of a Scotch edition, and were also greatly augmented, the purpose being to make the collection "useful in the light of a concordance, material as well as verbal, always at hand." The quarto copy so prepared was first sent to press, and first, second, and, "generally speaking," third proofs were read, besides frequent revisions—"a very tiresome and tedious task, but not more than was absolutely necessary, in order to attain the degree of accuracy that was wished." The figures belonging to the marginal references, "where errors were perpetually creeping in," were minutely superintended. When the quarto sheets were printed off the forms were lengthened out for the folio edition, but the change so disarranged the references and chronology that a fresh collation of the whole with the quarto edition was gone through, and in this process "some few trivial inaccuracies" have been discovered and rectified, "so that the folio edition is rendered by this somewhat the more perfect of the two, and therefore more fit to be recommended for a standard copy." New references

to the amount of 30,495 were inserted in the margin. "The whole was completed in a course of between three and four years' application." Honest and anxious labour was expended on the edition, and yet it turned out to be far from immaculate. For when it was collated for Eyre & Strahan's edition of 1806, not fewer than 116 errors were discovered in it. One of these consists of the omission of a whole clause in Rev. xviii, 22, "at all in thee, and no craftsman of whatever craft he be shall be found any more." Cotton says that the omission occurs only in the quarto edition; and Hartwell Horne, in some earlier editions of his Introduction, says that the omission arose from the overrunning when the volume was changed from a folio to a quarto form. But the error occurs both in the folio and quarto; and according to Dr. Blayney's own report the quarto was the original form of the edition.[1] Principal Lee justly questions the perfect accuracy of the report of the collators for the edition of 1806 in their enumeration of only 116 errors said to be found in the copies of 1769, and he adds that even in this edition of 1806 there are also such blunders as "holy" for "whole," &c. In Blayney's edition these blunders are found: Gen. xlix, 26, "thy progenitors," for "my progenitors"; Deut. xi, 19, "thy earth," for "the earth"; Judges xi, 7, "children," for "elders"; 2 Kings xxiii, 21, "this book of the covenant," for "the book of this covenant"; 1 Chron. xxix, 6, "over the kings," for "of the kings"; John xxi, 17, "he saith," for "he said"; Rom. vii, 20, "now if do," for "if I do"; 1 Cor. iv, 13, "earth," for "world"; 2 Cor. xii, 2, "about," for "above"; 1 John i, 4, "our joy," for "your joy"; and "godly" omitted in the clause, 1 Tim. i, 4. Other variations might be given, but these are sufficient to destroy the plea of perfection. An edition of 1811 has in Isaiah lvii, 12, "thy works, for they shall profit thee," "not" being omitted. Eyre & Strahan's quarto edition of 1813 was recommended to the Protestant Epis-

[1] Dr. Blayney's Report, dated Hertford College, October 25, 1769, is addressed to the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor and the other Delegates of the Clarendon Press. It is inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1769.

copal Church of the United States of America by its Convention; but it is by no means faultless, for it has, 2 Cor. xii, 2, "about" for "above"; Eph. iv, 16, "holy body," for "whole body." The blunder, "three is but one God," occurs in three editions of Eyre & Strahan, in 1812, 1820, 1822.

Erroneous printing and bad paper were still subjects of complaint, and George I, April 24, 1724, issued an order to the patentees, "that they shall employ such correctors of the press and allow them such salaries as shall be approved from time to time by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London for the time being."

There seems to have been a scanty issue of Bibles of smaller size, and Lemoine, a bookseller in London, published in 1797 the following complaint: "Neither the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, nor the King's Printers at London, have distinguished themselves for their typographical exertions in publishing a pocket Bible; an article very much wanted. The Cambridge Bible in 24to is too thick; the London Bible is upon bad paper; and nothing can be said in favour of the Oxford pocket Bible." The same author says elsewhere, speaking of editions undertaken by private individuals, "The emulation produced, and the consequence of the exercise of the liberal arts, has never manifested itself more of late years than in this article of Bible printing; while the two Universities and the King's Printers have brought out nothing above mediocrity. It would have reflected honour upon their privileges and patents, had they exerted their superiority, and not left it to individuals to excel them in their own province." [1]

A quarto edition appeared in 1810 with "short notes by several learned and pious Reformers,"—virtually the Genevan notes; hence afterwards called the "Reformers' Bible."

Complaints sprang up anew in the year 1830 as to the unsatisfactory state of the text of the English Bible, and a committee of Dissenting ministers published resolutions on the

[1] History of Printing, p. 148, London, 1797.

subject, declaring that "extensive alterations had been introduced into the text of our Authorized Version"; branding these alterations in unmeasured terms and foreboding dismal results.[1] As the question, after all, was one chiefly about the use of the words printed in italics, Dr. Turton[2] disposed of it in easy style, and showed fully the capricious use of italics in the first edition of 1611. "The translators produced a standard version, but the printers have not transmitted a standard text." In connection with this controversy there was published at Oxford in 1833 an exact copy of the first edition of 1611—"page for page and letter for letter"—retaining throughout the ancient mode of spelling and punctuation, and even the most manifest errors of the press. A collation of the edition of 1611 with that of 1613 is added. The report of an American committee, who prepared an unsuccessful edition in 1856 for the American Bible Society, avers that "in six copies compared the number of variations in text and punctuation falls but little short of twenty-four thousand."[3] The volume, which was carefully prepared, was not accepted by the American public for various reasons. The Bible Society was justly accused of going beyond its proper province which was simply the circulation of the Scriptures. The revision was felt to be unworthy of the name, for it touched the text only in the smaller matters of spelling, italics, punctuation, and capital letters. The removal of the old theological headings and contents of chapters, as in Psalms and the Song of Solomon, led also to a grievous outcry, in which many men of high standing seem to have joined. The edition, therefore,

[1] Curtis, On the Existing Monopoly, four letters to the Bishop of London, &c., London, 1833.

[2] Text of the English Bible, Cambridge, 1833. Mr. Curtis's misrepresentations were also exposed by Edward Cardwell, D.D., Oxford, 1833.

[3] Interesting information on the printing of Bibles and on the question of comparative expense and accuracy will be found in the examination of various parties before a committee of the House of Commons in 1832, 1837, 1860. Printers and publishers showed special sharpness in detecting errors in their rivals' editions, offering a remarkable illustration of the saying in Prov. xviii, 17. For the so-called Vinegar Bible see note, page 15.

wanting distinctive character, was soon withdrawn from circulation.[1]

The marginal references grew and multiplied in the course of years. In the first edition of 1611 they amounted in the canonical books to 8,418, increasing to 23,895 in the edition of Hayes, Cambridge, 1677; to 33,000 in that of Scattergood, Cambridge, 1678; in Lloyd's to 39,466; in Blayney's to 64,983; in Crutwell's to 66,955, Bath, 1785. Such references to parallel passages became, therefore, unduly multiplied; especially in Canne's Bibles, which were long very popular, and his gauge seems to have been simply the capacity of the margin.

The punctuation has varied much in the numerous editions, and the stopping was heavy in the earlier issues. The connection, if connection there be, between the second and third verse of John i, depends on the punctuation adopted, and similarly in Matt. xix, 28, and Titus ii, 11. The full stop at the end of a verse sometimes interrupts the sense: Ps. lxxxiv, 5, 6, "in whose hearts are the ways of them, who passing through the valley of Baca make it a well"—with a simple comma after "them"—"those that dwell in His house are blessed, and those who make a pilgrimage to it." Luke xiii, 24, 25, "many will seek to enter in and shall not be able, when once the master of the house is risen up and hath shut to the door"—when the door is shut but not till then, is entrance impossible. Luke xxiii, 32, was printed thus, "and there were also two other malefactors led with him." This is the literal rendering, though there is a difference of reading. But "other" was then a plural form,[2] as in Gen. viii, 10, Matt. xiii, 8; "others" is never found in Shakespeare—the sense being that there were two other, or two besides him, they being malefactors. "Other" was by and by changed into "others" with a new punctuation. "And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him." The clause is liable still to be misunderstood. The reading of the Bishops' is, "and there

[1] Report of the Committee, New York, 1851.

[2] See the first line of the right hand column of the first note on page 311.

were other two evildoers led with him." The Great Bible cuts the knot by simply omitting the word "other," "and there were two evildoers led with him to be slain"—a version unfaithful to the Greek. The Rheims has, "and there were led also other two malefactors with him, to be executed."[1] The Genevan has "and there were two others, which were evildoers, led with him."

It is strange that there are no paragraph marks in the Authorized Version beyond the twentieth chapter of Acts, as if the printing had been hurried toward the conclusion. The division into chapters and verses is so familiar that it cannot be easily set aside—as Bibles in all languages adopt it, and all concordances are based upon it. That there are unfortunate breaks in the sense in several places no one questions. How could it be otherwise among 1,189 chapters and 31,173 verses. The matter contained in a paragraph might be brought more closely together without the hiatus of verses, or the verses might be marked in the margin.

It would serve no purpose to dwell on the splendid editions of Macklin or that of Baskerville for license to print which he is said to have paid a large sum to the University of Cambridge, or those of Bishop Wilson, Pine, Reeves, Heptinstall, and Bowyer, or to enumerate many others of recent years, superbly got up, with good paper, excellent printing, and many magnificent illustrations. A Cambridge Bible of 1858 may be for its general correctness pronounced a very good edition.

An edition was published in Dublin in 1714, and Dr. Cotton, Archdeacon of Cashel, confesses, "I am ashamed to say that this is the earliest edition of the Bible printed in Ireland, which I have been able to discover." The first New Testament published in America bears the imprint of Mark Baskett, London, 1742. But it was stealthily printed in Boston, and the issue consisted of 2,000 copies. A Bible was printed in the same place, with the same fictitious imprint to evade the patent, in 1752. But the Bible was first printed without disguise in America in 1782 (4to, Philadelphia, R. Arthur,

[1] "Alii duo nequam," Vulgate.

an emigrant Scotchman.)[1] This took place 162 years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers; and, strange to say, a Genevan Bible had been already published in 1743. The most thorough critical examination of the text of the Authorized, with a collation of the most famous editions, has been made by Dr. Scrivener, who is noted for his patient, minute, and accurate research, and his long and intimate familiarity with the subject. His Cambridge Paragraph Bible, 1873, bears witness on every page to the truth of our statement.

[1] Thomas's History of Printing in America, vol. I, pp. 93, 305. Arthur's daughter carried on the business after her father's death in 1802, and printed the First English Translation of the Septuagint—The Old Covenant, by Charles Thomson, late secretary to Congress, Philadelphia, Jane Arthur, 1808.

In mediæval times Bibles were often gorgeously apparelled, and adorned with gold and jewels. Charlemagne, in 795, gave the monks of St. Bertin the right of hunting in his forests, that they might have abundance of skins or leather with which to bind their books. Strange stories have been told of some thick and strongly bound Bibles, and their instrumentality in saving life—as when a musket ball struck against one hidden in the folds of a soldier's uniform, but was unable to pierce it through. The Pocket Bibles of Cromwell's soldiers were not meant to serve such a purpose, though they were usually buttoned between the coat and the vest—over the heart. They consisted only of some extracts, divided into eighteen chapters, "which doe show the qualifications of the inner man that is a fit souldier to fight the Lord's battels, both before the fight, in the fight, and after the fight." London, 1643. Many of the sections are taken from the Genevan version, and the thin stitched book, printed on a single sheet folded in 16mo, bears on it, "Imprimatur *Edm. Calamy.*" The only known copy in this country is in the British Museum, and it has been reprinted by Mr. Fry of Bristol. Another copy has been found in America. See Bibliomania in the Middle Ages, by F. Somner Merryweather, p. 152, London, 1849, and also The Bible in the Middle Ages, by Leicester Ambrose Buckingham, London, 1853.

CHAPTER XLIX.

IN the course of the story we have seen that hostility to a vernacular Bible was as intense in Scotland[1] as it was in England. The Scottish poets, like Lyndsay, often refer to English translators, and the enmity and terror which they created. According to George Buchanan, the clergy gave out that Luther had composed a book called the New Testament.[2] The priest Hamilton, whose virulent critical notes on the Genevan we have given on pp. 55, 56, is equal to his fellows: "Are all merchands, tailours, souters, baxters, wha cannot learne thair awin craftes without skilful maisters, ar thir, I say, and uther temporal men, of whatsomever vocation or degree, sufficient doctor of thame selfis to reid and understand the hie mysteries of the Bible?——What folie is it that wemen, wha cannot sew, cairde, nor spin, without they lerne the same of uther skilful wemen, suld usurp to reid and interpret the Bible?"

In spite of all hostility and jealous espionage, various versions found their way into the country, like the written

[1] See vol. I, p. 243.

[2] Halle, the old English Chronicler, p. 806 (ed. 1808), records under date 25th year of King Henry VIII, "This yere also, one Pavier, town clerk of London, hanged himself, which surely was a man that in no wise could abide to heere that the Gospel should be in Englishe, and I myself heard him once saie to me and other that were by, swearing a great oath, that if he thought the kyngs highness would set forth the Scripture in Englishe, and let it be red of the people by his authoritie, rather than he would so long live he would cut his owne throte, but he brake promise, for as you heard he hanged himself."

Bible of Wycliffe and the volumes of Tyndale, and of the Genevan translation which it reprinted, but it never had any indigenous translation.[1] This strange negligence is the more unaccountable as there was no lack in Scotland of learned men, and no scarcity of books printed at home, or brought in from abroad—a traffic conducted under royal license. Readers were also abundant, and it is somewhat astonishing to find that in fifty-six years (namely, from 1558 to 1614), fourteen complete editions of the works of Sir David Lindsay were published, including two printed at Paris, and three in England. There were three editions of Buchanan's History, in 1582, 1583, 1584; and there were thirty-one editions of Buchanan's Psalms between 1566 and 1610, printed at Paris, London, and Antwerp, but not one in Scotland. Of the works of Principal Rollock who died in 1598, at least sixteen volumes were published before 1605; all of which passed rapidly through successive editions. The works of W. Guild, J. Abernethy, A. Symson, P. Symson, and others, passed through many editions between the year 1610 and 1633. During all this prolific time no complete edition of the Bible was printed in Scotland, and no edition of the New Testament, Psalms, or Catechism. As Principal Lee also asks, "If readers were not numerous, how is it that there were so many printers and so many booksellers in Edinburgh in the time of Queen Mary and James IV?"

Scotland was a poor country, and every one knows Sydney Smith's humorous translation of the Latin motto, first proposed for the Edinburgh Review, "Tenui musam meditamur avena," "We cultivate literature upon a little oatmeal." "This was too near the truth to be admitted," but it was the actual truth at a bygone time, when university students were in the habit of going about and begging their bread. An Act of Parliament of 1579, which threatens to punish various kinds of mendicants, adds with special emphasis, "all vagabound schollers of the Universites of Saint Andrewes, Glasgow, and Aberdene, not licensed by the Rector or Deane of Facultie of the Universitie to ask almes."[2] Yet Scotland, so poor was also proud, and was

[1] See p. 40.

[2] Dunlop's Parochial Law, p. 358.

characterized in periods before the Reformation by a rugged love of independence, and when her coveted freedom was in any way overborne, there was ever a strenuous kicking against the pricks. When Bruce took arms against the English power, many of the bishops patriotically sided with him, and the Abbot of Inchaffray officiated on the field of Bannockburn. The Scottish Church, too, was often restive under the Italian domination, and was again and again put under papal ban; but papal legates durst not advance beyond the border, and the Pope had his fingers often jagged by the Scottish thistle. The Reformation was a bold popular revolt in doctrine and jurisdiction. The Kirk, which was established in 1560, was sorely jealous of any encroachment on the part of the civil powers, as is seen in the following procedure: The Assembly held at Edinburgh, 1st July, 1568, in its third session, "ordained Thomas Bassandyne, printer, to call in the books printed be him intitled *the Fall of the Roman Kirk*, wherein the king is called *supreme head of the primitive kirk*, &c. and to keep the rest unsold till he alter the aforesaid title."

Yet all this cherished independence in church and kingdom did not suffice to produce a native translation of the Bible. Scotland was dependent for its Bibles on supplies from beyond itself. It imported the earlier versions from Holland, and especially from England. Tyndale's, the Genevan, and all the versions used, were made by Englishmen, belonging to a people to whom Scotland bore no good will, and it has meekly bowed its head to borrow the Bible and its other church books from its "auld enemie." Not only was its Bible prepared and published under King James, but its Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, are also importations from England, and were compiled there. Its Bible has thus been supplied from the English Church, and its Confession from the English Parliament which selected, paid, and controlled the divines of the Westminster Assembly, and sanctioned their work.[1] The Psalms, so commonly used in public worship, are

[1] Minutes of the Westminster Assembly. Edited by Professor Mitchell and Dr. Struthers. Introduction, Edinburgh, 1874.

English, too, in origin and authorship, having been twisted into rhyme by Francis Rouse, Provost of Eton, who sat in the Long Parliament, was Speaker of Cromwell's Little Parliament, and a member of the Westminster Assembly.[1] The same tale may be told of many of the paraphrases and hymns now used in Scotland.

The new translation gradually and slowly made its way in Scotland, in spite of strong national and ecclesiastical antipathies. It had been made by the Church of England for its own members, under an Erastian or royal appointment. Some years afterwards Scotland found itself at war with England, and "black prelacy" was accused of sending many sufferers to the dungeons of the Bass, and the scaffolds of the Grassmarket. Yet there is no record of any formal opposition made to the version because of its English origin, and its connection with Laud and his predecessors. The General Assembly of Aberdeen in 1516, though it enjoined Scripture reading, does not select any version for preference. No edict of a Southern Convocation could have had any good effect in the north. Probably if the new Bible had been sent to this side of the Solway armed with a royal proclamation, or enforced by Episcopal canons, it would have been refused, or at all events been regarded with profound suspicion. True, indeed, in the "Canons Constitutional and Ecclesiastical," published in 1636, xvi, 1, it is enacted that there shall be provided for every parish "a Bible of the largest volume—the Bible shall be of the translation of King James." But this edict could have little influence, for in two years the Canons were rejected (in June and September, 1638) by royal proclamation, and afterwards by the General Assembly in December of the same year. There were also bitter memories,

[1] In April, 1646, the House of Commons ordered that Rouse's "Psalms, and no other, shall be sung in all churches and chapels within England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed after the 1st of next January." The Lords concurred. The General Assembly, 23rd Nov., 1649, authorized the collection to be the only paraphrase of the Psalms of David to be sung in the Kirk of Scotland, and discharging the old paraphrase or any other to be used in any congregation or family after 1st May, 1650.

like those of the fields of Flodden and Pinkie. King Henry, through his Marshals, had destroyed the Church of Holyrood, the Abbeys of Melrose, Jedburgh, and Kelso, and having carried ruthless fire and sword and ruin through the southern counties, had turned large tracts into deserts, from which man and beast had alike disappeared. But the Bible came alone and "not with observation," having nothing to recommend it save its own merits, and it triumphed in the end over all these animosities and grudges. At an era when Church and State were alike in deep confusion, when mitre and crown had both passed away, this English translation won for itself a lasting home in Scottish hearts, and at length displaced a Bible endeared by the many associations that clustered around the scene of its origin. As Laud had greatly hampered the importation of Genevan Bibles, their scarcity must have somewhat contributed to the circulation of the Authorized Version.

The success of the version was perhaps as rapid in Scotland as in England, for the Psalms retained in the English Prayer Book are of an older and inferior version, and it was not till 1661, as arranged at the Savoy Conference, that the Gospels and Epistles were read out of the Authorized Translation; the Presbyterian nonconforming party having pressed for the change and obtained it with reluctance. The errors of translation selected in pleading for the change were taken from the Great Bible. Rom. xii, 2, "be ye changed in your shape"; Philip. ii, 5, "found in his apparell as a man"; Luke i, 36, "that is the seventh month which was called barren," a misprint; and Gal. iv, 25, the verse which was referred to at the Hampton Court Conference; and also John ii, 10, "when men be drunk"; 2 Cor. iv, 1, "we go not out of kind"; Luke xi, 17, "one house doth fall upon another"; the conclusion being "we therefore desire instead thereof, the new translation allowed by authority may alone be used." The concurrence of the bishops is thus recorded, "We are wishing that all the Epistles and Gospels be used according to the last translation."[1] The old translation had thus been receiving the assent and consent of all taking orders, to the disparagement of King

[1] Cardwell's Conferences, p. 307, 362.

James's version, and that for half a century. On the other hand, a prominent Covenanter, in a book published in 1637, speaks as we now do of "our own English translation." The Directory for Public Worship, ratified by the General Assembly in 1645, enacts, "All the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament shall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue out of the best allowed translation;" the words implying that more translations than one might be or were in common use, and that no version was to be singled out and sanctioned by public authority. Properly speaking, there is therefore no Authorized Version in Scotland. The Westminster Confession (i, 8), says, "The Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek, being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical, as in all controversies of religion, the church is finally to appeal unto them." The use of the Genevan version still lingered, and it is occasionally quoted in the Acts of the General Assembly, as "negligently" for "deceitfully," Jer. xlviii, 10; "behave rationally" for "play the men," 2 Sam. x, 12; "just" for "upright," Psalm cxix, 137. It crops out also, though very rarely, in the Westminster Confession, 1647, as in the quotation in the Epistle to the Reader of Prov. xix, 2, "without knowledge the mind cannot be good."

No edition of King James's translation was printed in Scotland during his reign. The New Testament was published in 1628 (Heirs of Andro Hart), and the Calendar of Moveable Feasts mentions, with Scottish jealousy, only Whitsunday, Easterday, and the beginning of Lentron. New Testaments were printed in Edinburgh in 1642 by Evan Tyler, R. Young, and James Bryson; and the entire Bible in connection with the coronation of Charles at Scone, in 1633—the first by the heirs of Andro Hart, and the second by the "printers to the king's most excellent majesty." Of this last edition there are two issues, and some of the copies have plates called "Popish pictures," for which Laud was greatly blamed. These "pictures" are remarkably good engravings, the originals having appeared in Imagines Vitae, Passionis, et Mortis D. N. Jesu Christi, printed by Boetius a Bolswert, 1623. The writer of a letter

preserved by Lord Hailes styles them "such abominable pictures, that impiety stares through them."[1] Scotland was therefore indebted in the interval to England for its Bibles, and there must have been a continuous importation, for Kirkton, at a period before the Restoration, declares that "every family almost had a Bible."[2]

A New Testament was printed at Glasgow in 1670, and another, very badly printed, in 1691. The worst of all the specimens is an Edinburgh one, said, however, by some to have been imported, and in it there is scarcely a verse without a blunder.

On February 9th, 1671, the Lords of the Privy Council stigmatized a New Testament, printed in black letter, by Andro Anderson, as having many gross errors and faults in the impression, and prohibited its circulation, or "till the same be first amended." But this very printer, who had been so reprimanded, obtained a gift under the Great Seal, and ratified by Parliament, "constituting him, his heirs, and assignees, to be his Majesty's sole, absolute, and only printer." Anderson and his widow after him were patentees for many years—from 1671 to 1712. It was strictly forbidden to import Bibles; and though the king's printer was "holden to serve the country" with Bibles of his own printing, Anderson, though many miscellaneous works issued from his press, printed only two small editions during the first five years of his appointment. It was the age of patents, for which money was given, or royal debts discharged. In Scotland the patent extended to all printing; the Act 1551, cap. 27, being entitled "printers should print nothing without license." James Watson, in his "History of Printing," says, "By this gift" to Mr. Anderson "the art of printing got a dead stroke, for by it no man could print

[1] Hailes' Memorials and Letters, vol. II, p. 42. In the edition which the writer possesses there is no print that might be called truly Popish but one, in the Common Prayer bound up with it, which represents the Virgin and Child, and has four lines under it, the last of which styles her "daughter, mother, spouse of God."

[2] Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, pp. 48-50. This history, however, is characterized by romantic exaggerations.

anything from a Bible to a ballad without Mr. Anderson's license." . . . "Editions of Poole's Annotations and Flavel's Works are, in the eyes of workmen, voluminous botches." [1] Of course many copies were carried north from England. Mrs. Anderson complained to the Privy Council of several editions brought into the country, and she winds up by asserting that her monopoly, if duly guarded, would "hinder the export of great summes of money, which are daylie taken furth thereof, for forrayne Bibles." But the traffic had been distinctly authorized in 1671, under this condition, "until the king's printer shall have ready an impression of his own." In 1676, all importation of Bibles in nonpareil and pearl letter was prohibited, and all such copies found are "confiscable." It is not our purpose to state at length how stoutly Widow Anderson battled for her patent, year after year, against all intruders, and managed to have them fined and imprisoned. It is with her work that we are concerned. Some of the editions issued by her husband had been good, especially an octavo of 1676; but her printing of Scripture, at this time, was utterly scandalous, and the other books which she printed were equally full of errors. The patent was not confined to Bibles, yet she affirms of them, that they were much better and on finer paper than could be done in England. Her Bibles swarmed with deplorable blunders, and the gross carelessness of the printing was fostered by the want of all competition. [2]

Many of the errors are monstrous. One writer gives a few of them in a list which fills six columns of quarto size, closely printed, such as "righteousness" for "unrighteousness;" "he killed," for "he is killed"; "enticed in every thing," for

[1] History of Printing, Preface, p. 12, Edinburgh, 1713.

[2] After Mrs. Anderson's time, Baskett became king's printer for both England and Scotland. Freebairn had held the office for a time, and though as a Jacobite he joined the standard of the Earl of Mar, and issued proclamations for the Pretender against the Government, he did not forfeit his patent. He was the fourth king's printer arraigned for treasonable acts. Lekprevik was imprisoned for disloyalty; Evan Tyler was declared a rebel in 1650, but was reinstated at the Restoration; Waldegrave had also been found guilty, but no sentence was passed upon him.

"enriched in every thing"; "either" for "neither"; "would" for "word"; "perfect" for "priest"; "we know," for "we keep"; "hast slain," for "wast slain." One of her Testaments was printed with worn-out type and a title-page having the names of Bill and Newcomb; and in it there are five columns in which, the fount being exhausted, the italic *a* occurs 700 times. An octavo edition of 1694, sometimes said to be spurious, but accepted by Principal Lee as genuine, is crowded with errors, a copy of which in the British Museum has a note-book attached to it, in which are marked such errors as these: Matt. ii, 18, "Rame," for "Ramah"; vii, 3, "brackers," for "brother's;" vii, 27, "the house," for "that house"; viii, 12, "dardness," for "darkness"; viii, 27, "obey them," for "obey him"; xiii, 41, "them which do do iniquity"; xxii, 15, "when," for "went;" xxii, 46, "and," for "ask"; Mark ii, 18, "the disciples of John and of John" for "of John and of the Pharisees"; vii, 35, "his eyes," for "his ears"; Luke viii, 35, "her right mind," for "his"; xxiii, 47, "this man was," for "this was"; John v, 32, "knoweth," for "I know"; vi, 49, "your father," for "your fathers"; vii, 31, "peole," for "people"; ix, 26, "then said they to him again," repeated; x, 3, "leadeth them not," for "out"; Acts ii, 6, "speaking," for "speak in"; x, 23, "longed," for "lodged;" xi, 11, "there," for "three"; xii, 21, "otion," for "oration"; xiii, 23, "accorning," for "according"; xiv, 8, "ma," for "man"; xx, 3, "spira," for "Syria"; xxiv, 24, "Priscilla," for "Drusilla"; xxvi, 14, "beaking," for "speaking"; Rom. viii, 32, "forgive," for "give"; 1 Cor. ix, 1, "seen Jesus," for "not seen"; xiii, 4, "wanteth," for "vaunteth"; 2 Cor. x, 14, "preached," for "reached"; 2 Thess. i, 9, "published," for "punished"; 2 Tim. iv, 4, "tears," for "ears"; iv, 16, "with stood," for "stood with"; James v, 20, "which covereth the sinner," for "converteth"; 1 Peter iii. 11, "speak," for "seek." In another edition, Mark iii, 26, has "against Satan," for "against himself"; Luke i, 31, "bring far," for "bring forth"; Rom. vi, 17, "ye were not the servants of sin," for "ye were the servants of sin"; Rom. viii, 33, "eject" for "elect." The misprints in spelling were hideous.

Mrs. Anderson has been sometimes imitated by her successors. An Edinburgh edition of 1760 has, in Heb. ii, 16, "he took on him the nature of angels," *not* being omitted; and another of 1791 reads, "make me not to go the way of thy commandments," and one of 1816 (Blair & Bruce) has, Luke vi, 29, "forbid to take thy coat also," the omission of *not* reversing the meaning of the precept. Baskett's patent rights extended to Scotland, and his edition of 1742 has these blunders: Matt. ix, 22, "thy faith hath made me whole," for "thee"; xviii, 29, "pay they all," for "thee"; xxvi, 50, "wherefore at thou come," for "art"; Mark ii, 21, "the rent is many worse," for "made"; John xvi, 8, "reprove the word," for "world"; xvi, 24, "ask and we shall receive" for "ye"; xvii, 2, "as to many," for "to as many"; Rom. xi, 26, "shall the deliver come," for "deliverer"; ii, 28, "sake," for "sakes"; Phil. iii, 12, "Now as though I had," for "not as though"; 1 Peter iv, 11, "to whom he praise," for "be"; Job xviii, 8, "be walketh," for "he walketh"; xx, 3, "causeth me no answer," for "to answer"; Isaiah i, 9, "let us a small remnant," for "left unto us"; iii, 9, "then soul" for "their soul"; xii, 3, (The Lord is become my salvation) "therefore with joy shall he draw water," instead of "shall ye draw water"; xiii, 15, "Every one that it found," for "is found." In a Bible of 1791 (Mark & Charles Kerr, Edinburgh) 1 Kings xxii, 38, reads, "the dogs liked his blood," for "licked"; Psalm cxix, 35, "make me not to know," for "make me to go." Instances of a similar nature might be multiplied at great length: "let all tongues be done decently," in a copy of 1816; and editions of 1811 and 1814 have "store against the wall," for "storm," Isaiah xxv, 4; "Esther" for "Easter," Acts xii, 4; "fighting upon him," instead of "lighting upon him," Matt. iii, 16; "Anna lived with an husband seventy years from her virginity," Luke ii, 36. Copies printed in Edinburgh during this century are not immaculate; and Principal Lee points out the following: Micah vi, 16, "thereof," for "therefore"; Luke iv, 28, "hear," for "heard"; Gal. ii, 21, "in," for "vain"; James i, 27, "her," for "their"; Isa. xl, 3, "made," for "make"; Jer. xv, 10, "hath," for "have"; Matt. xvii, 27, "comest," for "cometh"; xviii, 17,

"the," for "thee"; Mark x, 52, "the," for "thee"; Luke vii, 21, "may," for "many"; Acts viii, 22, "my," for "may"; Luke viii, 14, "they," for "that"; xx, 15, "them," for "him"; Phil. i, 25, "you," for "your"; 1 Peter iii, 18, "offered," for "suffered"; Matt. xvii, 27, "comest," for "cometh"; Mark xi, 8, "strayed," for "strawed"; 1 Cor. iv. 6, "puffed," for "puffed up"; Ezek. viii, 1, "fifty," for "fifth"; Zeph. ii, 7, "cost," for "coast"; 1 Thess. iii, 7, "four," for "your." Carelessness so gross is intolerable.

But amidst Scottish editions of the Bible, those printed in Edinburgh by James Watson, his smaller Bibles of 1715, 1716, 1719, and especially his folio of 1722, occupy a conspicuous and honoured place. He, like Ruddiman the well known Latinist, was tainted with Jacobitism. The inaccuracy of the printed Bible was a subject often brought before the General Assembly of the Kirk, and injunctions about it formed one of the annual instructions to the Commission. But no effective step was ever taken to remedy the grievance. A deliverance was given by the Assembly itself in 1794, in reply to an overture on the subject from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.

Friday, May 24, 1793.

"The General Assembly resumed the consideration of the overture from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, respecting the more accurate printing of common Bibles; and the Overture being again read, a letter from the King's printer to the Moderator was also read, and along with it specimens of a new edition of the common Bible were produced. The Assembly feel it their bounden duty to pay every attention to the printing of the Bible; but upon considering the letter from his Majesty's printer, and having viewed the said specimens which were given in, they think it unnecessary to proceed any farther in this matter at present."

The New Testaments printed for use in schools were often nearly illegible, and the paper was so bad that it often adhered to the types. Many editions were printed in Glasgow; and of these editions those from the press of Alexander Carmichael and Alexander Melrose & Company, 1737, and those from the

press of John Robertson and Mrs. M'Lean & Company, 1748, are fairly legible, though the supplemented words are not printed in italic type.

But the desire for a more perfect version had been cherished in Scotland at an early period, and in 1655 there was a proposal for a revision, in the following significant and quaint terms:—

For y^e^ bettering of y^e^ Inglish translation of y^e^ Bible (1st printed A.D. 1612) by M^r^ Jn^o^ Row,[1] 'tis offer'd. That these five things are to be endeavoured:

I. That evil and unmeet divisions of chapt^rs^, verses, and sentences be rectify'd, and made more proper, rationall, and dexterous, w^ch^ will much clear ye scope.

II. That needles transpositions of words, or stories, p^r^tending to Hypall or Synchyses, be waryly amended; or noted if they cannot.

III. That all vseles additions be lop't off, y^t^ debase the wisdom of y^e^ spirit;—to instance

1. All y^e^ Apocryphall writings; being meerly humane.
2. All popish and superstitious prints, plates, and pictures.
3. Apotheosing and canonizing of some (not oth^rs^) as Sts., S^t^ Luke: not St. Job. . . .
4. Spurious additions or subscriptions (to Epistles), words and sentences.

IV. That all sinfull and needles detractions be supply'd; and y^t^ lies in 6 things—viz.,

1. Let all sentences, or words detracted, be added in y^e^ text.

[1] The Rows were a family of note and learning. The first of them studied in Italy, and on his return to Scotland he adopted the principles of the Reformation. Died 1589. Five of his sons became ministers. His third son, John Row, minister of the parish of Carnock, wrote the well known History of the Kirk of Scotland. The second son of the minister of Carnock is the author of the proposals for revision. He was some time master of the Grammar School, Perth, and afterwards principal of King's College, Aberdeen. In 1644 appeared his Hebrew Grammar, Institutiones—the first book of the kind printed in Scotland, and it was printed in Glasgow. The Town Council of Aberdeen ordained their "Thesaurer" to give the author "for his paines four hundreth merks." Died about 1675. A third generation of the name had their place among the Scottish clergy, the youngest surviving till about 1700.

2. Epitomize y^e^ contents and chapt^rs^ better at y^e^ topps of y^e^ leafe.
3. The parenthesis ought not to be omitted where 'tis.
4. Exhaust not the emphasis of a word (as Idols, thirteen wayes exprest).
5. Nor y^e^ superlative, left only as a positive.
6. Notifactum, not noticed at all.

V. As respecting mutation, or change, 4 things are needful, namely—

1. That nothing be changed but convinc't apparently, to be bett^r^.
2. Yet a change not hurting truth, piety, or y^e^ text, may be just and needfull.
3. Many evil changes are to be amended, as these 9 in particular.
   (1) When words, or sentences, are mistaken.
   (2) When y^e^ margin is righter than y^e^ line, as in 800 places (and more) it is.
   (3) When particles are confounded.
   (4) When a word plurall is translated as singular.
   (5) When the active is rendered as if a passive.
   (6) When the genders are confounded: as mostly y^e^ cantic bee.
   (7) When Hebrismes are omited, in silence, or amisse.
   (8) When participium paül is rendred as if it were nyphall.
   (9) When conjugatio pyël is Inglish't as if kal.
4. (On the other hand) 9 good changes are to be warily endeavour'd, viz:
   (1) Put y^e^ titles of y^e^ true God (all ouer) literâ capitali.
   (2) Let majistrates correct misprinting of Bibles.
   (3) Put more in Inglish (even *propria nomina:*) less in Heb., Gr., and Latin terms.
   (4) That Ingl. words (not understood in Scotland) be idiomatiz'd.
   (5) That all be analogical to Scripture termes, not toucht w^th^ our opinion, or error.
   (6) Something equivocal to Keri, and Kethib, be noticed.
   (7) That letters, poynts, and stopps, be distinctly notified.
   (8) The paralel places ought to be well noted, in the margin.
   (9) Things not amiss, may be endeavo^r^ed to be bettered.

The like is (as to y^e^ N. T.) to be endeavo^r^ed, many words wanting their owne native idiom and import, and sometimes y^e^ translation overflowes in y^e^ Inglish; or els is defective: and some words confounded: (Ex: gr: δυναμις, power, and εξουσια, in 70 or near 80 places translated *power* w^ch^ is properly *authority*, &c.

All this has been essayed by divers able Hebritians: as M^r^ H: J: M^r^ J^h^ C., &c., whose notes and pains are yet conceal'd in private hands, but may come to light, and publick use, in due time.

But no action was taken in connection with this minute and elaborate proposal.

While there are three privileged presses in England, there was only one patentee in Scotland, and, therefore, a complete monopoly. The last holders of the patent, Sir David Hunter Blair and John Bruce, Esq., latterly his niece, Mrs. Margaret Tindal Bruce, brought an action at law against Bible Societies in Scotland, and in 1824 succeeded in interdicting them from bringing into Scotland any copies of the Holy Scriptures printed in England. The case was carried by appeal to the House of Lords, and the decision of the Court of Session was affirmed in 1829. The result was that the British and Foreign Bible Society might despatch Bibles to all the ends of the earth, but they durst not send down an English Bible into Scotland, even to their own auxiliaries. Had such a law been enforced in earlier times, what should have been the condition of Scotland? It had plenty of Bibles, but it printed only one edition of the Genevan in 1576-9, and another in 1610, both issued by persons who did not hold the king's patent; and it did not print the present version for more than twenty years after its publication in 1611. Scotland therefore got its Bible chiefly from England, and the king's printer did not then prevent it. The monopoly was at length abolished in 1839, and the presses are free to print the Scriptures, subject to the supervision of a Board in Edinburgh, of which the Lord Advocate is the head. The printer must inform the Board as to the edition which he means to put to press, and enter into a bond for £500. Every sheet printed by him is sent for the inspection of the Board, and not till it is passed by them or their reader is he

allowed to issue it, the Board having power to order any erroneous page to be cancelled. After the abolition of the monopoly, Bibles fell at once one-half in price, and the "Reports" show that there is a large increase of circulation. The patent still existing in England gives the patentees power, according to its express and comprehensive terms, over "any Bibles or New Testaments in the English tongue, of any translation, with notes or without notes." Were this power to be exercised to its full extent, all popular and practical expositions of Scripture would be suppressed. Dr. Cotton, in 1856, had an edition of the Four Gospels printed at Oxford, but the Delegates of the University Press put it down. In it the headings were omitted, the words usually printed in italics were put within brackets; and pronouns referring to the Saviour began with a capital letter. But the book was an infringement of the patent, and the plates were sent to America. An attempt was made in 1819 to inhibit a Family Bible, but the measure raised such a clamour that it was not persevered in. Pasham evaded the patent by printing notes at the bottom of the page, a considerable space being left between them and the text, so that in binding the book the notes were cut off, and the volume remained in its symmetry.

If the full truth must be told of the reception in Scotland of the version executed under King James, then it is to be added that there was a very small party that rejected and maligned it. This party was a little band of frenzied men and women, extremer than the extremest of the Covenanters, so rabid and reasonless that even Donald Cargill, the intrepid leader and martyr, who tried to deal with them, was obliged in despair to give them up. They were called the "Sweet Singers of Borrowstouness," the leader being "Muckle John Gib,"[1] a ship captain, belonging to that small seaport on the Frith of Forth.[2] They carried about in their handkerchiefs the blood of two recent martyrs; they scattered anathemas very profusely; and the Psalms

[1] Some one amused the Conference at Hampton Court by describing a Puritan as a Protestant frayed out of his wits, and the saying might be regarded as clever; but the men here referred to in the text certainly suited that definition.

[2] Woodrow's History, vol. III, p. 348. Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland, vol. II, p. 414.

which they delighted to sing were the lxxiv, lxxx, lxxxiii, and cxxxvii. They numbered twenty-six; and in 1681 they left their ordinary occupations, betook themselves to the moors and wilds to be free of all "snares and sins," and some of them attempted to return to primeval habits; but the naked truth could neither be enjoyed under the Scottish climate, nor tolerated by the civil magistrate. This last freak did not last more than two or three days. When any husband, in urging his wife not to go out with the party, caught hold of her dress, she at once washed the place as if to remove an impurity. These poor misguided creatures were at length apprehended by a troop of dragoons at the Woolhill Craigs, and taken to Edinburgh—the men being lodged in the Tolbooth, and the women sent to the House of Correction.[1] Most of the women, however, had gone home before the capture, and those taken to Edinburgh, on receiving a copy of the manifesto written by their leaders, "renounced us and called us devils." When in confinement, four of the men sent out a protest, which among other things says, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to take out of our Bibles the Psalms in metre," quoting in support of the act Rev. xxii, 18. "We, being pressed to the work by the Holy Ghost, do renounce the impression and translation of both the Old and New Testament," their objection being to the Dedication, to the division of chapters and of verses as of human invention, and to "the drawing scores betwixt the books of the Bible." They also denounced the General Assembly, the Confession, the Covenants, and all the allied documents, even those that contained the excommunication of their opponents. Especially did they protest against the "limiting of the Lord's mind by glasses," that is, by the pulpit sand-glasses which regulated the duration of the sermon. They also "renounced and declined all authority throughout the world," with the "pagan names of the months and the days of

[1] Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. II, p. 93, Edinburgh, 1762; Woodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. III, p. 348, &c., Glasgow, 1836; "Gib's Blasphemous Papers, May 1st, 1681," and Cargill's long, earnest, and sober letter of expostulation are given in Woodrow.

the week." Their lengthened nocturnal fasts which they had kept in frost and snow, "while our clothes were frozen on us, and our feet frozen in our shoes," helped to create their deplorable mania. With the women that followed them, "their spirits were many a time burthened," and they longed to get quit of them; and as they were afraid of immoral suspicions, they kept them in comparative seclusion. The Council at Edinburgh, regarding them as crazed and harmless, set them at liberty after a brief confinement; the epidemic soon subsided, and most of them returned to their "right mind."

Unaccountably backward though Scotland was to edit and print Bibles for itself, the Scottish people have been often accused of Bibliolatry, not merely of placing all faith in Scripture, but of regarding the mere volume with superstitious attachment. Mrs. Somerville, the celebrated writer on physical science, records in her Autobiography that "during a thunderstorm, my mother always asked my father to shut the window, and though she was no longer able to see to read, she kept the Bible on her knee for protection." The following anecdote, referring to a period little more than twenty years ago, is vouched for: A widow in a Scottish county town had been left by her husband at his death a considerable amount of property, with a mortgage on it. Her trouble was whether she should pay the interest on the mortgage, and keep the property entire, or sell a portion of it, and discharge at once the encumbrance. Many weeks of thought and consultation passed, and at length one morning she met her minister, with a blythe countenance, and the joyous statement that now she saw her way through the difficulty, and that her mind was at rest. On being asked how she had come to such a happy and peremptory decision, she told him that she had happened to read that morning the sixtieth Psalm, and that the sixth verse, which said, "I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth," forcibly struck her, and appeared to give her the light and direction which she so earnestly desired. She sold at once, as if by divine warrant, a portion of her inheritance, and freed the remainder from all pecuniary burdens.[1]

[1] Personal Recollections, p. 17, London, 1873.

So popular is the English Bible, and so cheap withal, that it is in all men's hands, and many of its sayings, "graven with an iron pen" on the memory, are "familiar in their mouths as household words." The following clauses are often uttered, without any conscious recollection of their origin: "escaped with the skin of his teeth," "at their wit's end," "the root of the matter," "the pen of a ready writer," "burden and heat of the day," "merchant princes," "a part of fat things," "spreading like a green bay tree," "fearfully and wonderfully made," "the threescore and ten," "an uncertain sound," "physician, heal thyself," "nothing new under the sun," "his long home," "the one thing needful."

But if the English Bible be so good a translation, and so clear and vigorous in its style, surely its verses and clauses should always be quoted with exactness. There are, however, many and constant forms of inaccurate quotation both in discourses and in prayer. This incorrectness often proceeds from careless habit, and it may be said to be inherited, like original sin. The changes often meant as improvements are useless and tasteless—"painting the lily." Sometimes it seems as if the figures were felt to be too sharp, and they are blunted by interpolating "as."[1]

Psalms xlv, 1, "My tongue is *as* the pen of a ready writer."
1 Tim. iv, 2, "Having their consciences seared *as* with a hot iron."
Heb. x, 22, Our bodies washed *as* with pure water."

There are many forms of misquotation, which arise from a desire to add emphasis—

Deut. xxxiii, 25, "As thy days, *day is*, so shall thy strength be."
Eccles. xi, 1, "Cast thy bread upon the waters; for thou shalt find it *again* after many days."
Hab. ii, 2, "Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, *So plain that he that runneth may read.*
John viii, 7, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone, *cast the first stone*, at her."
Gen. xxviii, 17, "This is none other but the house of God, and *this is* the gate of heaven."

[1] The changed or added words are printed in italics.

1 Kings iv, 25, Micah iv, 4, "Every man under his *own* vine," &c.

Job xiii, 11, "Shall not his excellency make you *suitably* afraid?"

Ps. xxiii, 4, "Yea though I walk through the *dark* valley of the shadow of death."

Ps. xc. 12, "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto *true* wisdom."

Eccles. i, 10, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with *all* thy might."

Ezek. xxxiii, 11, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but *rather* that the wicked turn," &c.

John xvi, 8, "He will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment *to come.*"

Acts xxiv, 25, "Go thy way for this time; when I have a *more* convenient season I will call for thee."

Rom. vii, 24, "Oh wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? *this body of sin and death.*"

1 Cor. xi, 26, "Ye do show *forth* the Lord's death till he come."

Heb. ix, 27, "And as it is appointed unto *all* men once to die."

Ps. lxxv, 6, "For promotion cometh neither from the east nor from the west, *nor from the north*, nor from the south."

Isaiah i, 6, "From the sole of the foot even unto the *crown of the* head, there is no soundness in it."

Isaiah lviii, 13, "Not doing thine own ways, nor *thinking thine own thoughts*, nor finding thine own pleasure."

Hab. i, 13, "Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on iniquity *but with abhorrence.*"

Matt. xviii, 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them, *and that to bless them.*"

1 Cor. ii, 9, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, *to conceive* the things," &c.

2 Cor. xiii, 14, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion *and fellowship* of the Holy Ghost, *rest and abide* with you all, *now, henceforth, and forever.*

Rev. xxii, 18, "And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him *come and* take the water of life freely."

Isaiah xxxv, 8, "The wayfaring men, though fools, shall, *need*, not err therein."

Rom. xii, 11, "*Diligent* in business."

Ps. lxxxiv, 9, "Look upon *us*, *in* the face of thine anointed."

Dan. iv, 35, "None can stay his hand *from working*."

Job xv, 16, "Which drinketh *up* iniquity as *the thirsty ox drinketh up the* water."

Job xx, 12, The confession in prayer is frequent: "*We roll sin as a sweet morsel under our tongue*," the true words being simply, "though wickedness be sweet in his mouth, though he hide it under his tongue."

Ps. iv, 6, "The light of thy *reconciled* countenance."

Heb. xii, 29, "God *out of Christ* is a consuming fire," but the text is, "our God is a consuming fire."

Ps. cxlv, 9, "His tender mercies are over all his *other* works."

Somebody has taken in hand the thankless and mechanical task of counting, not only the chapters and verses, but also the words and letters of the English Bible; the result may be regarded as a curiosity in its way.

	Old Testament.	New Testament.	Total.
Books, . .	39	27	66
Chapters, . .	929	260	1,189
Verses, . .	23,214	7,959	31,173
Words, . .	592,439	181,258	773,697
Letters, . .	2,728,100	868,388	3,566,480

APOCRYPHA.

Chapters, 183. Verses, 6,081. Words, 152,185.

The middle chapter, and the least in the Bible, is Psalm cxvii.

OLD TESTAMENT.

The middle book is Proverbs.

The middle chapter is Job xxix.

The middle verse is 2 Chron. xx, and between 17th and 18th verses.

The least verse is 1 Chron. i, 1.

NEW TESTAMENT.

The middle book is 2 Thessalonians.

The middle chapter is between Romans xiii and xiv.

The middle verse is Acts xvii, 17.

The least verse is John xi, 35,

The 21st verse of the 7th chapter of Ezra has all the letters of the alphabet.[1]

[1] Notes and Queries, Second Series, vol. VII, p. 481.

Such has been the varied, wonderful, and suggestive history of the English Bible. The Divine Record, even in its earliest form, was intended for universal diffusion—to guard men against Atheism, Polytheism, and Pantheism; to keep them from forgetting God by the deification of second causes, by the formation of local and limited divinities, or by merging the finite in the infinite; and at the same time to exhibit His character as a Being near them, and not far away above the stars, that they might be induced to trust, worship, and serve him. Such teaching, as human history has shown, was needed everywhere, and everywhere was it to be carried. Its first language, indeed, in the older form of Phœnician, was employed by the earliest merchants, seafaring adventurers, and colonists; but in its Biblical uses and aspects, it became very much confined to Canaan, and was unknown to the successive great empires around it, though Nineveh and Babylon spoke a varying dialect of it. So that, while Judaism was organized as a standing protest in behalf of the Divine Personality, Spirituality, and Fatherhood, it did not formally proclaim those truths to the world on all sides of it. It never so awoke as to realize its position of being "in the midst of many people as a dew from the Lord." It did not care to spread itself; it might welcome proselytes, but it never went in search of them. No ships left Joppa bearing prophets and precious parchments. The Alexandrian Version at length unlocked the Hebrew treasures to the western world—Tarshish and the Isles of the Gentiles. "In the fulness of the time" appeared the Son of God, who "spake as never man spake," in words fitted to all ears and hearts, and died as never man died—died in Palestine, but died for all the world; founding, in his Self-offering on Calvary, a universal dispensation, without distinction of age, race, or country. His first followers had learned to speak another tongue than that of their fathers, though they used it also.[1] This second tongue had been carried

[1] When the apostle addressed the mob at Jerusalem they expected a Greek oration, and they naturally "kept the more silence" when "they heard him speak in the Hebrew tongue to them," just as a crowd in Inverness some years ago would have acted, if they had expected an Eng-

by the Grecian arms around the shores of the Mediterranean, and over the East, and therefore the Gospels and Epistles were written in it, for it was everywhere current. It was not, indeed, Greek in its glory, but such was its versatility, copiousness, and force, that it nobly bore upon it a message which it had never carried in the Porch or the Academy. The power of the case-endings had ceased to be felt as formerly, and prepositions were employed to mark relations; simple verbs often gave place to compound forms; thoughts, words, and syntactic structure had a Hebrew tinge, and now and then terms were coined to convey the new ideas essentially connected with the New Covenant. But it was the Greek of the time, and a popular faith was preached in a popular tongue, easily understood by all classes. At length the Latin tongue shared in the supremacy of the people that spoke it, and into it the inspired collection of Lives and Letters was translated for the European and North African churches. The Latin Bible held a lofty place for centuries, and the Latin Church was very unwilling that its Book, though only a translation, should be turned into any living dialect, and laboured to keep all knowledge locked up in the brains and libraries of its own ministers. There had been a Syriac and Gothic version at a bypast time, but the battle for vernacular Scripture was fought out on this island, and, through fire and blood, truth and freedom at length conquered. A few faint efforts had been made at a remote epoch, and with such efforts the names of Bede and Alfred are immortally associated. Their successors did what they could in fragments and paraphrases. Wycliffe at length gave his nation a whole Bible, and many accorded to the gift a grateful reception. The branches of the fig-tree had become tender, and "were putting forth leaves," for summer was coming, with its life and warmth. In the meantime books and men alike were sacrificed to the ecclesiastical Moloch. Two centuries afterwards Tyndale translated the New Testament from the original Greek. His version was reprinted by Coverdale, had a place in the Great Bible, was revised in the Genevan and the Bishops', and then

lish speech, and they too would have "kept the more silence" if the orator bespoke their attention in a Gaelic preamble (Acts xxii, 2).

took its present place as a portion of the Authorized Version. The Old Testament, chiefly produced by Coverdale, has come to us by a similar course of successive revisions. The ancestral history of our Bible shows that spiritual despotism, in its selfish, short-sighted policy, defeats its cherished ends, and that liberty and progress, connected with the open Book of God, must at length triumph. The English Bible is consecrated by the blood of martyrs. Wycliffe was not murdered, but in revenge for his exemption his bones were exhumed and burned; Tyndale was strangled and consumed to ashes; Coverdale escaped almost by miracle; Rogers and Cranmer "loved not their lives unto the death"; the Genevan scholars were exiles, while many of their brethren at home were perishing at Smithfield; the Elizabethan bishops had been in imminent peril during a season when the "hour" was ruled by "the power of darkness." The divine presence was frequently and palpably apparent in moulding circumstances, in paralyzing the arm of opposition, and in cheering and supporting those who were walking in the furnace. We have enjoyed this Bible for two centuries and a half; and its general fidelity, and the nervous and beautiful diction in which it clothes the divine counsels, have always commended it; while the blessed results of its spiritual power make themselves visible in myriads of ways, through all the shires and cities of the land.

Having survived all perils, and having had many romantic "crooks in its lot," it is still abroad in its might—not as of old, in heavy folios, but in handy volumes—closet and pocket companions. It costs only a trifle, so that it is within the reach of every one. It has found a home under the Southern Cross—in Australia and New Zealand, and in the United States it has multiplied itself with inconceivable rapidity. The sun never sets upon it. It has spread, and will spread with the English name and influence round the globe. All people speaking our tongue are united by their common Bibles, common temples, and the blessing of a "common salvation." Our forefathers gave it welcome, and their descendants can never bid it farewell, for the oracle is always fulfilling itself, "Tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children,

and their children another generation." Englishmen shall never weary of reading the Blessed Life told in these Gospels, and in that charming style which, rising above all provincial peculiarities, forms one fraternal speech to all that "in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours." Centuries have passed over it, but its youth abides. Many volumes far younger than it have perished in the wreck of years. The majority of books published among us are connected with it—either against it, or for it, or upon it. Though revised, it will ever preserve its identity; as the statue is the same though its features be brightened when the dust is blown off it. It can be superseded only when the higher relations and developments of its truths are revealed to us in another sphere, where we "shall know even as we are known."

"Now blessed be the Lord our God,
The God of Israel,
For He alone doth wondrous works,
In glory that excel.
And blessed be His glorious name
To all eternity:
The whole earth let his glory fill.
Amen, so let it be."

REVISION OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

"Count it as a thynge not havynge his full shape, but as it were borne afore hys tyme, even as a thynge begunne rather than fynyshed. In tyme to come . . . we will give it hys full shape."—Tyndale, Epilogue to his New Testament, 1526.

"For the which cause, according as I was desyred, I took the more upon me to set forth this special translation, not as a checker, not as a reprover or despiser of other men's translations; for among many I have as yet found none without occasion of great thanksgiving unto God. . . . . Howbeit, whereinsoever I can perceive by myself, or by the information of other, that I have failed (as it is no wonder), I shall now, by the help of God, overlook it better and amend it."—Prologue to Coverdale's Bible.

"No offence can be justly taken for this new labour, nothing prejudicing any other man's judgment by this doing, nor yet hereby professing this to be so absolute a translation as that hereafter might follow no other that might see that which as yet was not understood."—Preface to the Bishops' Bible.

"If hereafter we espie any of our owne errors, or if any other, either friend, of good will, or adversarie, for desire of reprehension, shal open to us the same, we will not, as Protestants doe, for defence of our estimation, or of pride and contention, by wrangling wordes wilfully persist in them, but be most glad to heare of them, and in the next edition, or otherwise, to correct them."—Preface to the Rheims Translation.

". . . The translating of the Scriptures; the which thing albeit that divers heretofore have endeavoured to achieve, yet, considering the infancy of those times, and the imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and clear light which God hath now revealed, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed."—Preface to the Genevan Bible.

"As nothing is begun and perfited at the same time, and the later thoughts are thought to be the wiser, so, if we in building on their foundation that went before us, and being holpen by their labours, do endeavour to make that better which they left so good, no man, we are sure, hath cause to mislike us."—Preface to the Authorized Version.

CHAPTER L.

THE exposure of any one to suspicion and obloquy, because he ventures to touch the Scriptures, no matter how reverently and lovingly, is not an occurrence of yesterday. Nor is this jealousy to be wondered at; for, as the Bible is the divine charter, its words are of unsurpassed value. The sacred volume has naturally come to be enthroned in the heart of myriads as a book of solitary majesty. Their spiritual life has been quickened by it; they have felt its formative power; and in calm and devout moments they are conscious of its secret and searching influence as they breathe its penitential Psalms, or ponder the wonderful discourse followed by the more wonderful prayer in the gospel of St. John. Indignant surprise would therefore be excited if any one should dare to deal wickedly with God's revelation, by adding to it or taking from it, or in any way tampering with its holy contents. For such procedure would really be an attempt to produce a new Bible; and no one within the pale of the church can be guilty of the profane temerity of erasing, changing, superseding, or improving, the words of Apostles and Prophets.

But the Bible, while it is divine in the highest sense, is also human in the truest sense; and its human aspects and history are never to be overlooked in the adoration of its divine "imbreathment." While it is from heaven in its blessed and primary source, it is as surely of earth in its nearer form and delivery—God's thoughts in man's words. While Psalmists and Evangelists spoke and wrote as they were "moved by the Holy Ghost," they were no mere machines, no mere passive recipients and outgivers, like the strings of a harp struck by a

supernatural plectrum, according to the old and familiar figure. They were not pens, but penmen, each expressing his thoughts in as real accordance with his own temperament and his own characteristic style of utterance, as if no God-given influence had been possessed. That man speaks to man in Scripture, is a fact which is not to be hidden away in the lustre of its heavenly origin. Thus sang the bard, thus reasoned the apostle, are facts co-existing in equal truth with "thus saith the Lord."

Now we can only get at the divine element by a comprehension of the human terms—the husk is to be pierced in order to possess ourselves of the kernel. It is therefore of supreme moment to know what are the words which have been chosen to bear upon them a divine message, and to be convinced that they have been faithfully transmitted to us. Why contend for the inspiration of any document, or attempt to translate it, if we have not faith in its genuineness and integrity? If some essential vocables have been lost or changed, if there are fragmentary clauses or dismal spaces out of which precious syllables have dropped and disappeared; if the message be not given to us with substantial fulness and accuracy, we should have little inducement to accept it and study it. How can we have faith in any doctrine if there be a serious dispute as to the words in which it was delivered? Therefore, the settlement of the text takes precedence of apologetics and theology, for it must be a Bible materially the same as when first published, that we either defend or expound. But this primary and indispensable labour on Scripture, in order to have it as nearly as possible in the state in which its holy authors left it —"the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth"—has, so far from being welcomed with gratitude, been despised and scorned with rancorous and malignant hostility. There are some noted examples.

Origen's labours on the Septuagint were not fully appreciated in his own day,[1] and Jerome's work on the Latin version provoked wretched enmity and wild misrepresentation. The cry of falsification and sacrilege was raised against him on the part of men "who thought that ignorance was holiness—biped

[1] Redepenning's Origenes, vol. II, 156, &c., Bonn, 1846.

asses who preferred an erroneous and unrevised text." [1] Even Augustine warned him that the task was profane and perilous. Men, "who called his work a translation," accused him of undermining the faith, and disturbing the peace of the church; but the peace which is content with an imperfect text or version of God's Word is only a stolid inertness. When Robert Stephens published an edition of the Vulgate, and revised it by the aid of some MSS., the doctors of the Sorbonne bitterly protested against the innovation, and annoyed in many ways the intelligent and conscientious printer. On the publication of his folio text of the Greek New Testament in 1550, the same censors prohibited the edition, on account of the "annotations," or various readings, which were taken from the Complutensian Polyglott and some MSS., and put into the margin. The editor, apprehensive of personal danger, felt himself under the necessity of quitting Paris, and taking refuge in Geneva. Had the doctrine of the Rhemists and their contemporaries been current at an early period, had there been so bitter hostility to all vernacular translations, their own cherished Vulgate could never have existed at all.

It is a pity that Popish ignorance should be occasionally equalled by Protestant jealousy, as blind to facts as it is deaf to arguments. The controversy between Owen and Walton about the original text of Scripture is well known. Owen had prepared a small treatise on "the divine original, authority, self-evidencing light, and power of the Scriptures," and it was "about to be given out to the stationers" when the Polyglott appeared. The various readings collected in the appendix to it appalled him, for they seemed to loosen the foundation of the thesis which he maintained, and therefore he published "Considerations on the Prolegomena and Appendix to the late Biblia Polyglotta." Some good men, and learned men too, like the Buxtorfs, never dreamed of the possibility of various readings, but imagined that supernatural care had been exercised over

[1] He confesses that he rendered a certain term in Jonah by *hedera* because he feared the grammarians. A great commotion had been raised in a church, and its members forsook it, until the old term *cucurbita* was restored. Zöckler's Hieronymus, p. 342, &c., Gotha, 1865.

the text of the sacred volume in its transmission to later times. Owen could not deny the existence of various readings, but he laboured to explain them away. In his grief and surprise he trembled for the result, since the notion that a divine volume had not been divinely protected, "bordered," in his opinion, "on atheism"; and Walton himself held a similar view as to a special divine guardianship over the sacred scriptures. Yet life, though it is a divine gift, is not protected by any supernatural shield. Owen praised the Polyglott; but Walton regarded the eulogy "as a shoeing horn to draw on some disgraceful asperities."[1] He could not bear to be told that his magnificent tomes, the wonder of the age, and one of its noblest monuments, were but steps in a road leading either to infidelity or to Rome. Owen totally mistook the nature of textual criticism, when he defined it as an attempt "to correct the Scriptures . . . to correct the Word of God . . . to amend it at the pleasure of men, so that men have no choice but to turn atheists or papists."[2] The mistake is a glaring one, for the aim of criticism is not to amend the original, but simply to restore it, if possible, to its first and genuine shape. The question was not one of speculation, but of fact and eyesight. Popish writers did take advantage of the existence of various readings to show the necessity of a personal living oracle, and a similar attempt has been recently made in a volume named "Bible Difficulties."[3] The author piles up difficulties in connection with text and version, which he exaggerates and represents as insoluble, to prove the need

[1] Considerator Considered, London, 1659.

[2] But Dr. Owen was not one of that wretched class that branded erudition as fatal to piety, and accounted learning "the language of the beast." Dr. Edward Pocock had been already turned out of his prebend and professorship by the Parliamentary Committee of Triers when Owen appeared before them, and insisted on the "infinite reproach" that should certainly fall upon them if they should turn out a man so justly admired by all Europe for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments, adding that he had come "to deliver himself from such disgrace by protesting against a proceeding so strangely foolish and unjust." The hearty appeal was successful. Twell's Life of Pocock, p. 174, London, 1816.

[3] Williams and Norgate, London 1869.

of a living and infallible interpreter who possesses the "transmitted authority of Christ." It would be a strange spectacle to behold his Infallible Holiness pronouncing from the chair of St. Peter on various readings in the Greek text of which he had no familiar knowledge, or revising translations in a foreign language of which he did not understand one syllable. The two popes that tried their hand on their own Vulgate gained no credit by their interference.[1] A freethinker, many years afterwards, in Shaftesbury's Characteristics,[2] asks as to Scripture, "Is it the single reading or that of various readings, the text of these manuscripts, or of those, the transcripts, copies, titles, catalogues of this Church or of that other?" with much more to the same effect, and in proof and fortification a remarkable paragraph is adduced from Jeremy Taylor. Thus infidels and papists alike deduced from the various readings the uncertainty of Scripture. But these illogical inferences were no reason why the clear path of duty should be deserted, and they were not to be warded off by denying the fact of collected and visible variations. If, however, a man like Owen, a great theologian, and the head of a University, felt such tremors and presentiments, how many around him and beneath him must have been tormented by similar fears and anxieties? Referring to the bulk of the "Variants," he says, "I have heard the great Ussher expressing his fears." The fears were groundless. The vehicle may rock, and the oxen may stumble, but the ark is safe, and Uzzah does not need in wanton and faithless temerity to put forth his hand to steady it. Dr. Chalmers, who had no great familiarity with this class of subjects, in describing the collision between Owen and Walton, says, "I know not which was most revolting, the lordly insolence of the prelate, or the outrageous violence of the Puritan." The antithesis is only a rhetorical exaggeration. If insolence occasionally gleams out in Walton, it is not "lordly," for he was not a bishop at the time; some might call Vice-Chancellor Owen's Tract a specimen of ponderous and solemn incompetence; but the charge of "violence" is wholly

[1] See page 109.

[2] Vol. III, p. 320, London, 1723.

inapplicable to it, for it is the outpouring of a mind overburdened with great sorrow and perplexity.

The saintly Albert Bengel was also malignantly assailed because he touched the text of Scripture. Certain "ministers of God's Word" sharply reprimanded him for "his audacity," unprecedented, in publishing in 1738 a Greek text so different from the received one; and a Catholic opponent in 1741 branded him as a "Bible murderer," hinting at the same time that the church had a temporal as well as a spiritual sword to bring to "obedience all heretics." These and similar accusations and threats wrung from him the prayer, "O that this may be the last occasion of my standing in the gap to vindicate the precious original text of the New Testament!"[1] Jerome had met his opponents in a different spirit—"A lyre is played in vain to an ass,"—"If they will not drink the water from the purest source, let them drink of the muddy streams."

The publication of Mill's New Testament, with its thirty thousand various readings, renewed in England the panic which Walton's Polyglott had originated. Unfavourable and unjust opinions of the work, the result of thirty years' hard labour, were freely circulated, not only by unlearned people, but, as Bishop Marsh asserts, "not only by the clergy in general, but even by professors in the University." Whitby's Examen is a specimen of the current opinions, which more than insinuated that this New Testament "exposed the Reformation to the Papists, and religion itself to the atheists." Whitby was more unreasonable than Owen; but Mill was removed from the scene before the Examen appeared; the Master "had hidden him in his pavilion from the strife of tongues." Bentley, in his most masterly exposition of such folly, throws out the challenge, "Make your thirty thousand as many more, and even put them into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet with a most sinistrous and absurd choice he shall not extinguish the light of a single chapter, nor so disguise Christianity, but that every feature of it will still be the same."[2] Even John Selden was so far

[1] Burk's Life of Bengel, English translation, p. 237, London, 1837.

[2] Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking, by Phileleutherus, Lipsiensis, Works, vol. III., p. 360, ed. Dyce, London, 1838.

carried away as to counsel, "when you meet with several readings of the text, take heed you admit nothing against the tenets of your church."[1] Samuel Clark, in his Divine Authority of the Holy Scripture, London, 1760, maintains the divine authority of the Hebrew vowels, points, and accents, or else "we are left to human authority."

These occurrences are not solitary examples. As the attempt to secure a text that might be a near approach to the autographs of the sacred writers—a work of all others most momentous and indispensable, has created dismay and apprehension, so the effort to revise a translation has excited similar antipathy and panic. To tell the truth about the original text has been stigmatized as the inglorious utterance of secrets which should have been hushed up, or told in whispers to a select and initiated circle. The effort to make a translation more faithful by means of a better text, and a thorough and uniform application of grammatical canons, has, even in these days, drawn forth earnest deprecation of the work as useless, if not pernicious; and solemn appeals have been made by all that is patriotic and Christian, by all that concerns the welfare of the church and the land, to lay it aside. The perfection of Scripture has in some way come to be associated with the English Authorized Version, so that to touch it is to injure it, and to attempt to amend it is little less than profanity.

Numerous scholars, critics, and commentators have expressed their opinion as to the desirableness, if not the necessity, of a revision; such men as Lowth, Waterland, Kennicott, White, Blayney, Hales, and many others. Indeed the attempt to secure a revision is no novelty. The need of it has been often felt The era of the Commonwealth, besides being a time of political convulsion, was a season of great religious and theological excitement. The English Bible at such a period naturally drew earnest attention to itself, for church and divinity overmastered all minds, and were everywhere and always the centre of earnest discussion and controversy. It brought back the older period in the church, when knots of people in the streets of Constantinople debated incomprehensible abstractions, and were so ab-

[1] Table Talk, p. 11, Pickering, London, 1847.

sorbed that they could only carry on a disjointed conversation on common topics; when men talked theology over their daily bargains; when a query about the price of a loaf brought out the reply that "the Father is greater than the Son"; and when one asking for a bath was met with the response, "The Son of God was created from nothing."

In a sermon preached before the House of Commons in August, 1645, Dr. Lightfoot urged them "to think of a review and survey of the translation of the Bible," that "the three nations might come to understand the proper and genuine study of the Scriptures, by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation."[1]

In April, 1653, an order was made by the Long Parliament, and a bill was brought in, for a new translation of the Bible out of the original tongues, and it ran in these terms:—[2]

"Whereas in the original text of the Holy Scriptures there is so great a depth, that only by degrees there is a progress of light towards the attaining of perfection of the knowledge in the bettering of the translation thereof; and hence the most learned translators have found cause again and again of revision and still rectifying and amending within a few years of what they themselves had translated and published. And this hath been the commendable practice even of some Papists, and of sundry of the reformed religion:

"And it being now above forty years since our new translation was finished, divers of the heads of colleges and many other learned persons (that coming later have the advantage to stand as on the heads of the former) in their public sermons (and in print also) have often held out to their hearers and readers that the Hebrew or Greek may better be rendered, as they mention, than as it is in our newest and best translation: some of the places seeming to be very material, and crying aloud for the rectifying of them, if the truth be as it is so affirmed, and published by them, and here in some MSS. presented to us:

"And forasmuch as the translation by Mr. H. Ainsworth of

[1] Works, vol. I, p. xv, ed. Pitman, London, 1825.

[2] The preamble is given on p. 271.

Moses and the Psalms, and Song of Solomon, is greatly commended by many of the learned as far more agreeable to the Hebrew than ours; and it is said that there are MSS. of his translations of some other Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament. And also in other parts of the Holy Scriptures, some have translated verses and some chapters; and we hear that some have translated the New Testament, if not the Old also, and would have them printed and published in our nation. Which if it should be done on their own heads, without due care for the supervising thereof by learned persons sound in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, might be a precedent of dangerous consequence, emboldening other to do the like, and might tend at last to bring in other Scriptures or another Gospel instead of the oracles of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:

"For the reforming, rectifying, and repairing of the former injury to the new translation, and for preventing of so great inconveniences of such dangerous consequence, and for the furtherance (what in us lieth) and the benefit and edification of many, Be it enacted, that no person or persons whatsoever within the dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, without the approbation of persons hereafter named or to be named by authority, shall presume to print or publish any such translation of the Bible or of the New Testament.

"And that these persons, viz.: Dr. John Owen, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. Samuel Slater, Mr. William Cowper, Mr. Henry Jessey, Mr. Ralph Venninge, and Mr. John Row, Hebrew professor in Aberdeen, in Scotland,[1] shall be and hereby are constituted, appointed, and authorized in and about all these particulars following to be performed by them in the fear of the Lord, for the good of His people, namely:—

"That these or any three or more of them may search and observe wherein that last translation appears to be wronged by the Prelates, or printers, or others; that in all such places, as far as in them is, it may be rectified and amended therein, and the evident and most material failings, that do in a special

[1] Prof. Row's proposals may be seen on p. 322.

manner call for reformation (some particulars whereof to us have been presented for consideration), and that this may be performed with all speed before there be any further printing of the Bible:

"And further, because it is our duty to endeavour to have the Bible translated in all places as accurately and as perfectly agreeing with the original Hebrew and Greek as we can attain unto, to remove (whatever in us lieth) the stumbling-blocks and offence of the weak, or the cavils of others when they hear in sermons preached or printed, or in other treatises, that the original bears it better thus and thus. Be it [enacted] that the persons beforesaid may seriously consider the translation of Mr. H. Ainsworth, and of any other translations, annotations, or observations made or that may be made by any of themselves, or of any others that they know of, or may confer withal (who are desired to add unto them their best assistance for the general good of all), and consider of the marginal readings in Bibles, whether any of them should rather be in the line. And what they, after serious looking up to the Lord for His gracious assistance in so weighty a work, and advising together amongst themselves, shall judge to be nearest to the text, and to the mind of the Lord, they may give thereunto their approbation, and this with all speed that conveniently they are able:

"And be it further enacted, that Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. Tuckney, and Mr. Joseph Caryl, are hereby appointed and authorized to be supervisors of what is so approved, and that what those persons shall so approve of, shall accordingly be printed and published for the general edification and benefit of the whole nation, to be read both privately and in the public congregations."

The project was revived afterwards, and referred to a sub-committee to consult with Walton, S. Clarke, Cudworth, and "such others as they shall think fit to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions thereon to this committee." The matter was committed to Lord Commissioner Whitelocke, who held the Great Seal, and the committee met often at his house. "Excellent and learned observations" were made on some mistakes in the

Bible, "which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world, and pains took in it; but it became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution."

But now may we not have a better text after a collation of many MSS. not known in the days of King James, and after the labours of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and others, the critical apparatus of Dean Alford, the collation of Scrivener, and the New Testament of Drs. Westcott and Hort not yet completed—the labour of more than twenty years?[1] We have seen what kind of text was used by King James's revisers, and that it has no great authority. Bentley styles the great printer and editor "Pope Stephens," and sarcastically remarks that "his text stands as if an apostle was his compositor." The principles advocated by Bentley, and adopted by Lachmann, are now virtually espoused by editors of the Greek Testament. Tischendorf tells that "after long wavering" he substantially adopted them.[2] His third edition (1849) and his seventh (1859) differ in considerably more than 1,200 places, about a half of those in the latter returning to the Textus Receptus; and the text of his last or eighth edition differs from

[1] The British and Foreign Bible Society, which issues daily from London and its foreign depots, 8,500 copies of the Bible or portions of it, binds all its translators throughout the world to take the Elzevir edition of 1624, which was reprinted for them in 1852; allowing however such variations as may be found in the marginal renderings of the English version. This noble institution has in this way declared the Elzevir text "authentic," and done for it what the Council of Trent did for the Vulgate. What is commonly called the "Received Text" is chiefly that of Stephens and Beza. The unknown editor states in his preface, 1633, that it was a "text received by all," and the eulogy helped to fulfil its own pretension. To keep a verse, the genuineness of which nobody familiar with the principles of critical evidence will admit, is to circulate a forgery in the divine name, and is as perilous as to exclude a verse which has every sanction. A collation of Stephens, 1550, and Elzevir, 1624, may be seen in Prebendary Scrivener's Novum Testamentum, Cambridge, 1872.

[2] See also Tregelles in the Introductory Notice to the First Part of his New Testament, 1857; the clear and compact preface of Westcott and Hort to their edition, 1870; and Ellis's Bentleia Critica, Cambridge, 1862.

that of the seventh in 3,350 places. This apparent instability partly induced by his love for his own MS., was also caused by his intense and manifest desire to find out the truth by the careful weighing of evidence of all kinds. The theory of Lachmann commends itself, for it finds the text in the oldest authorities, which reach nearest apostolic times, or to the so-called Western authorities, now ℵ and B, the Curetonian Syriac and the unrevised old Latin texts, with A, C, D, &c.; the Memphitic and the Vulgate; while such Fathers as Origen, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, and Eusebius, are not to be overlooked. The text of Tregelles is made on hard and fast principles, applied with rigour, so that little account is taken of any collateral influences that may prompt and mould a sound critical judgment. Griesbach's text rests also on Western authorities, or what he called the Western "Recension" or "Family," the received text having come chiefly from the Eastern or Byzantine Family. If certainty as to the text cannot be obtained from diplomatic sources, the highest probability must be the guide, after the evidence of MSS., patristic quotations and versions some of them older than any MS., the special style of the author, the temptations of copyists, the connection of the context, and other minute modifying elements, have been calmly and patiently weighed; each sphere of proof having its own value in proportion to its history and character. Or the source of the variations may be discovered, and themselves gradually traced; or the readings may be in a state of such confusion that to unravel the tangled mass is a work of special tact and delicacy. Or the mass of the Cursives may be ranged against a few Uncials; or the versions may be in conflict with MSS., while the polemical influences of some Father may be very transparent in his citations. Clauses may disappear that had been generally accepted, peculiar alterations may startle, readings may be brought in which have been unknown to the English reader, favourite texts may pass out or appear in some different form; but truth must be followed for its own sake and at all hazards. Let us look at some of the changes which rest on undoubted authority, and which are now found in the best critical editions of the Greek text.

Few readers will quarrel with the change, Matt. vi, 1, "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men," and of that righteousness, alms, fasting, and prayer are given as examples; or xvii, 4, where Peter says, "I will make here three tabernacles," so like himself; or with the additional word in Luke xv, 17, "I perish here with hunger"; and 22, "bring quickly the best robe"; or Acts xvi, 7, "the spirit of Jesus suffered them not"; or Rom. iv, 1, "our forefather"; v, 1, "let us have peace"; or 2 Tim. iv, 14, "the Lord will reward him"; or James iv, 12, "thou, who art thou that judgest another?" or 1 Peter iii, 15, "sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts"; or 1 John iii, 1, "that we should be called the sons of God, and we are such"; or, Rev. xix, 1, "I heard as it were a great voice." Nor would some omissions be at all distressing, as that of Matt. i, 25, "till she brought forth a son," "firstborn" standing in Luke undisputed; or v, 22, "whoso is angry with his brother shall be in danger"—"without cause," having no authority, weakens the precept in terseness and spirit; or the omission of "openly" in vi, 4; the substitution of "wine" for "vinegar" in xxvii, 34; or of "as snow" in Mark ix, 3; or the omission of "implacable," Rom. i, 31; of the last clause of viii, 1, "who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit," which is taken from verse 4; and xiv, 9, of "rose, and revived"; or 1 Cor. xi, 29, of the adverb "unworthily," "eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, as he does not discern the Lord's body"; or Gal. iii, 1, which should read, "O foolish Galatians, who bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was evidently set forth, crucified"; or, Rev. v, 8, "and they reign on the earth," for "they shall reign."

The reason of the following unwarranted emendations is very apparent: Luke ii, 33, "Joseph and his mother," the true reading being "his father and his mother," a mode of speech that might seem to impugn the doctrine of the incarnation; John vi, 11, "Jesus took the loaves, and gave thanks, and gave to them that were set down," the intermediate clause, "he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down," must be left out—it was inserted to bring the verse into correspondence with Mark. The better reading in

John iii, 25, is "a question between some of John's disciples and a Jew." The shorter and more difficult reading is usually the genuine reading.

But the object of textual criticism is not to supply readings that may not be displeasing, or that may be reckoned improvements. No notion of such a kind can be entertained, for its purpose is to find out fact and truth apart from personal preference or dissatisfaction. The evidence that carries in readings that are liked may and does introduce others that may stumble and perplex. No doubt it will distress some persons to find the familiar doxology of the Lord's Prayer omitted, though it does not occur in Luke, and the third and fourth verses of John v left out, or Acts viii, 37, or the last clause of 1 Cor. vi, 20, reading simply, "in your bodies," without the addition, "and your spirit, which are God's." For the famous passage about the three witnesses in 1 John, no one now contends. Other changes may offend some, as if they should find only two lines in the natal anthem, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth among men of good will." But, in fact, there are various readings in nearly every verse, though many of them scarcely affect the translation. Variations of nouns and personal pronouns, of position in the names of Christ, and of prepositions and particles, are perpetually occurring. Scribes often added explanatory words, and words for the sake of emphasis. Clauses are taken into Matthew from the other gospels, and parallel passages are brought into verbal coincidence. It is not easy to account for the interpolated insertion in some copies, Matt. xxvii, 49, of a verse from John xix, 34, for the piercing of Christ's side, as told in the latter gospel, took place after death, as Origen also mentions. The following are specimens of words added for the sake of supposed clearness: John xi, 41, "from the place where the dead was laid"; xvi, 16, "because I go to my Father"; Ephes. iii, 14, "of our Lord Jesus Christ"; Col. i, 14, "through his blood"; 2 Thess. ii, 4, "as God"; 1 Tim. iii, 3, "not greedy of filthy lucre"—a conformity to Titus i, 7; 1 Tim. vi, 5, "from such withdraw thyself"; Heb. xii, 20, "or thrust through with a dart." Those clauses have not the ring of the true

metal. At the same time, many cases defy a perfect solution, and scholars take different views. It is very hard to decide on the true reading in John i, 18, whether it should be "the only begotten Son," or "God only begotten";[1] whether it should be, Acts xx, 28, "Church of God," or, "Church of the Lord, which he hath purchased with his own blood."[2] "God manifest in the flesh," 1 Tim. iii, 16, has less authority than "who was manifest in the flesh."[3] The genuineness of the appendix to St. Mark in the last twelve verses of that gospel, and of the story of the woman caught in adultery in St. John, is not freely and generally accepted.

The proper reading in Rom. iv, 19, contradicts the present or current one only in appearance, "and being not weak in faith, he considered not his body now dead, . . . neither yet

[1] May it not be conjectured that the Evangelist wrote simply μονογενής, as in *v.* 14, "the only begotten," and that one scribe, looking back to *v.* 1, supplied θεός, and another, glancing only at *v.* 14, "only begotten of the Father," naturally wrote υἱός. See a learned and vigorous paper in defence of θεός by Dr. Hort, of Cambridge, and one equally learned and vigorous on behalf of υἱός by Professor Ezra Abbott, of Harvard University, United States.

[2] Though the Sinaitic Codex has in John i, 18, θεός, and θεοῦ in Acts xx, 28, Tischendorf does not admit of these readings, and Dr. Davidson concurs. Nor did he, nor could he, follow it in 1 Cor. xv, 51, for it reads "we shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed." He forsakes it also in Luke iv, 44, and reads, "synagogues of Galilee" instead of "synagogues of Judæa," the last and the more difficult reading being well supported. Tregelles also does not venture to accept it.

[3] The readings, θεός and ὅ, may be traced from ὅς: the first taking up into itself the antecedent which may have been thought too vague or remote; and the second laying immediate hold on μυστήριον as a near antecedent. Though the result is not affected by the Alexandrian Codex in the British Museum, its reading has been inspected with every care, but without a unanimous decision. This leaf of the MS. is now frail, for it has often been subjected to scrutiny of all kinds. Bishop Ellicott affirms that A reads ὅς "indisputably, after minute personal inspection"; but Dr. Scrivener replies in direct contradiction, and he possesses eyes which, in his own words, "have something of the power and too many of the defects of a microscope." The question is whether the bar across the Θ is or is not the sagitta of an Ϲ on the opposite side of the page. Young, Huish, and others who examined the MS. long ago, agreed that the reading was ΘC, that is θεός, God.

the deadness of Sarah's womb"; the better sustained reading is, "and not being weak in faith, he considered his own body now become dead . . . and the deadness of Sarah's womb, yet he wavered not through unbelief." The first and feebler form is, he did not think of his age and that of Sarah, when he laid hold of the promise; and the second and more suggestive form is, that though he was fully alive to his own age and that of Sarah, still he grasped the promise. The one view makes his age a matter of indifference to him, but the other makes it a conscious difficulty, over which he nobly triumphed. The true reading in Matt. xix, 16, 17, is "Master, what good thing shall I do that I may inherit life? And he said unto him, Why askest thou me concerning the good thing? One there is who is good." The common reading stands in Mark x, 17, and in Luke xviii, 18. An important change happens in 1 Cor. viii, 7, which now reads "for some with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto a idol." The term rendered "conscience" must pass out, and another meaning "custom" is rightly put in its place—"some from custom in respect to the idol," or "some from being used until now to the idol, eat it as a thing sacrificed to an idol."[1] A necessary change in 2 Cor. iv, 6, will not stumble any one, instead of "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts," it should be, "for it is God that said light shall shine out of darkness, who shined in our hearts." 1 John v, 13, reads, "These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God"; the better and simpler reading being, "These things have I written unto you, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, to wit, *unto* you that believe on the name of the Son of God."[2]

But the English translation itself may be revised and brought to be as far as possible the express image of the original Greek, and within certain limits such a work may be successfully

[1] συνήθεια for συνείδησις.

[2] See an excellent and popular view of the subject of various readings in The Words of the New Testament, by Professors Milligan and Roberts, Edinburgh, 1873.

carried out. A revision is not a new translation, such as some men have contended for,[1] nor is it a mere modernizing of the style, like many specimens given to the world, neither is it an attempt to remove difficulties, or solve discrepancies, by renderings so cautiously or cunningly moulded as to suit such a purpose. A revision may and ought to preserve the quaintness and beauty of the English version, and it will not attempt to sew a piece of cloth on an old garment, forming an unseemly and incongruous patch. To present a popular as well as a literal version is no doubt a task of uncommon difficulty.[2] A literal version for scholars or for private study would be a comparatively easy work; but one for the use of the people requires the nice combination of many qualities, as correctness, clearness, rhythm, and strength—for it must not be rugged on the plea of exactness, or graceful at the expense of fidelity. It should bear a close relation to the original, "just as a cast from a fine statue is better than an imitation." It must be lucid without any paraphrastic dilution, and nervous without inversions or the use of unfamiliar terms. It behoves to be at once true to the original, and loyal to the English idiom, expressing the mind and thought of the author in his own manner. The attempt to follow in all cases the order of the Greek words would produce a cumbrous and awkward translation, especially as emphatic terms do not occupy the same position in Greek and English

[1] The Rev. Alfred Dewes, A.M., in his "Plea for a New Translation of the Scriptures," London, 1866. In his opinion the Authorized Version is always inaccurate, very often obscure, and so bad that it must be superseded. We take Rom. i, 16, as a specimen of his new translation: "For I am not ashamed of the glad tidings, seeing that every one who has faith, a Jew especially, a Gentile also, finds in them a divine power, which brings him to salvation."

[2] "If," said the curate (*el cura*), surveying the library of the Cavalier of La Mancha, "if I find Ariosto speaking any other language than his own, I shall treat him with no respect whatever; but if he speaks in his own language, I shall set him on my head." "I've got him in Italian," said the barber, "but I don't understand him." "Nor would it be well that you should," replied the curate: "and we would never have found fault with the captain if he had never brought him into Spain, and turned him into a Castilian, for he has in this way robbed him of much of his natural excellence (valor)." Don Quijote, cap. VI.

clauses. In a word, the present version came to be what it is from frequent revision. The original version of Tyndale, five times revised, is our present New Testament. Between the Bishops' and it, only forty-three years elapsed, and during the eighty-five years from Tyndale's first edition in 1526 to 1611, there were several revisions. But no formal or systematic revision has taken place since 1611, or for more than two centuries and a half. Some of the preceding pages show that the version has been again and again altered in many ways, but not by any joint process, or by any known or recognized company. So that the revision of the Authorized Version does not cast any discredit on it. Who would not wish a Greek text as perfect as possible, and a version as exact as possible? but the perfection of the one and of the other is only to be reached by slow degrees and earnest labour on the part of all willing and scholarly spirits.

The very same objections brought against a revision in 1872-6 did similar service against the revision in 1608-11.

Lord Shaftesbury has produced the economic objection, that many Bibles now in circulation would be rendered useless, and no small amount of money lost. Such fictitious alarm might have been raised over the Great Bible in 1540, the Bishops' in 1568, and the current version in 1611. No revision will at once supersede present copies. Its circulation can only be gradual, and those who possess them will still read and reverence them. The late Lord Panmure, at a public meeting in Edinburgh, January 10, 1857, solemnly declared, "that the project of a new version is fraught with the utmost danger to the Protestant liberties of this country, if not to the Protestant religion itself." Surely an assertion so hastily made is a libel on Protestantism, which is born of the light, and ought to welcome the light in its fullest lustre. On the one hand it is argued, that revision will not lead to any alteration in the articles of the church, and is therefore needless. If the errors and inaccuracies are so slight as is pleaded, then the slighter they are they can be the more easily removed; and why should anything inaccurate, small even as a jot or a tittle, be suffered to remain in the English Bible? Why dishonour it

by the perpetuation of any thing admitted on all hands to be wrong? Ought not the Book of Life to be without spot or blemish? or, as Symonds asked in 1789, "Is error so valuable an inheritance that it ought not to be relinquished? Can it be sanctioned by the plea of a long prescription?" On the other hand, Dr. Cumming, the well known expounder of prophecy, warns against revision, "as it will give the advantage to heterodox parties in the religious world." But does orthodoxy depend on mistranslations or an unrevised version? The late Albert Barnes of Philadelphia, who has written voluminous expositions of the books of the New Testament, condemns revision, and yet practises it on every page of his Commentaries, amending the translation or showing where it wants point and vigour. A systematic revision is surely better than one which is spasmodic and intermittent in character. Dr. M'Caul in his "Reasons for Holding Fast," &c., says the "changing of obsolete words would establish a principle that words not intelligible to the general reader must be altered"; and one may ask, Why not? His fear that in this way our theological nomenclature and our theology itself might be altered, haunted him like a dark spectre. If Scripture has in it words not understood, it is so far defective and cannot serve its purpose of a clear teacher, and the dreaded radical revolution cannot be produced by a cause so slight, as the substitution of a few terms so simple as to be "known and read of all men." If the present theology rests on the pillars of old and ambiguous words, it will not need a Samson to shake the temple into ruin. "Wait," say some waverers, "till there be agreement among scholars and critics, till at least a Greek text be fixed or accepted by all." Such a period may never come, critics will be divided in opinion on readings and their evidence, and scholars will admit the necessity of alternative renderings. Yet without this unanimity, there may be such a general harmony as erudition warrants, and experience may confirm.[1]

[1] In 1787 was witnessed a strange controversy on Bible translation, when Dr. Geddes, a Catholic priest, fought a battle in favour of it against two Protestants, one of them a clergyman of the Established Church of England, Dr. Vicesimus Knox.

One special objection against revision, that any change will unsettle the minds of the people, refutes itself. For do not the people hear clauses and verses often re-translated in the pulpit; are they not accustomed to such changes made with reason and without it in a variety of ways? No one will call the version perfect; but the drift of such objections is, that if there be inaccuracies in the English Bible, it is better that the people should not know the fact lest they should be disturbed in mind. In the same spirit a stout opponent of revision has written, "At all events, all the necessary alterations in the text of the Authorized Version may be introduced into it by men of wisdom and judgment, without nine-tenths of the nation being aware of it. Would it not, therefore, be far better to do so, if it is to be done?"[1] Another bar to revision has been thrown up in this form, that if more versions than one be in circulation, "the right of private judgment would be destroyed, and people would pin their faith to this or that minister." But from the publication of Matthew's Bible in 1537, down to about 1640, more versions than one were always in use and circulation, and the better translation soon found its way to supremacy. The two versions supposed to be most in antagonism had much in common.

Some cry in dismay at revision, "We know not what may be forced upon us." Nothing will be forced upon anybody. "Must we lose our present beloved Bible, which we read at our mother's knee?" Surely not; the Authorized Version will not be suppressed in any sense or form? Others have objected in scorn, "Churchmen and Dissenters will not coalesce"; the easy reply is, "Come and see." A Revision of the Telegu and Tamil Scriptures has been carried out in India by scholars of the Episcopalian and Nonconformist churches; and the same work is going on in the same way in Caffraria, in Madagascar, and in China, all exhibiting the unity of the Spirit as they work on His book. Revision has been

[1] Vindication of the Authorized Version of the English Bible, by Rev. S. C. Malan, M.A., p. 346, London, 1856.

done, or is going on in Sweden, Holland,[1] and Germany,[2] and some revised versions have been published. "Ah! but the Bible will be so changed that we shall not be able to recognize it!" No such result may be anticipated.

> "We must not stint,
> Our necessary actions in the fear,
> To cope malicious censurers.
> If we stand still,
> For fear our motions will be mocked or carped at,
> We should take root here where we sit, or sit
> State statues only."

But it is all the while to be remembered that it is difficult to accept any great changes in words so familiar—familiar as the sunbeam, and like the sunbeam welcome every morning, as those of the English Bible. Four times in its history has this very obstacle been felt, and it has been always surmounted. The new at length gained on acquaintance, and as the novelty wore off it became as an old friend, not taken to kindly at first, but beloved and cherished as he is better known. Again and again the alarmists and the alarmed alike have had verified to them the image of the hymn,

> "The clouds ye so much dread,
> Are big with mercy, and shall fall
> In blessings on your head."

It would serve little purpose to enumerate or criticize the many specimens of revised or new translations of the New Testament which have appeared from time to time. Too many of them have been of a peculiar character, and though not without merit, they want some element that should belong

[1] Het Nieuwe Testament of alle Boeken des nieuwen Verbonds van onzen Heer Jezus Christus, door last van de Hoog-mog. Heeren Staten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden, en volgens het besluit van de Synode Nationaal, gehouden te Dordrecht, in de jaren MDCXVIII en MDCXIX, uit de oorspronkelijke Grieksche taal in onze Nederlandsche getrouwelijk overgezet. Te Londen, 1873.

[2] Das Neue Testament unser, Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi, nach Dr. Martin Luther's Uebersetzung. Revidirte Ausgabe. Berlin, 1872.

to a popular and accurate version. Reference might be made to the volumes of Purver, Scarlett, Harwood, Wakefield, Worsley, Newcome, Whiston, M'Ray, Boothroyd, Wynne, Ainslie, Hightton, Rotherham, Blackwood, Granville Penn, Webster, the Improved Version (Unitarian), and that of the American Bible Union (Baptist). A few samples may suffice.

One peculiarity of Scarlett's volume is that the words of different speakers in a chapter are marked off and printed as in a drama:—

"*Hist.*—Then Jesus going from thence, retired to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. And behold, a woman of Canaan coming out of these parts, cried, saying to him,

"*Canaanitish Woman.*—Have pity on me, O Lord, thou son of David; my daughter is grievously possessed by a demon:

"*Hist.*—But he answered her not a word. And his disciples coming, entreated him, saying,

"*Disciples.*—Dismiss her, because she crieth after us.

"*Hist.*—But he answering, said,

"JESUS.—I am not sent, save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

"*Hist.*—Then she came and fell prostrate before him, saying,

"*Canaanitish Woman.*—Lord, help me!

"JESUS.—It is not fit to take the children's bread, and throw it to the dogs.

"*Hist.*—And she said,

"*Canaanitish Woman.*—True, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table.

"*Hist.*—Then Jesus answering, said to her,

"JESUS.—O woman, thy faith is great! be it to thee according to thy desire.

"*Hist.*—And her daughter was healed from that hour."

Purver gives a very long list of words "superannuated and not fit to be used in the English Bible"; but in that list are many vivid and current terms as fresh as when they came from the mint.

Mr. Ray, or M'Ray—a man of some scholarship, and of no small vanity and loquacity—lived in Glasgow, and here is a sample of his work:—

"Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus said, Now is the Son of man glorified, (*destroying the works of the devil,*) and God is (*thereby*) glorified in him. If God be glorified in him, God will also glorify him with himself, (*by making him sit at his right hand,*) and shall straightway glorify him. Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me; and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go ye cannot (*now*) come; so I say now unto you."

Herman Heinfetter has translated the Vatican MS. as it could be had at the time,[1] from the collations of Bartolocci, of Birch, of Bentley through the Abbate Mico, and of the Abbate Rulotta. But though he had had Tischendorf's edition of 1867, or the fac-simile edition of Vercellone, it would not have been of any great moment. Some of his renderings may be quoted:

Matt. i, 20, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her exists without blemish to her reputation."

Eph. iii, 17, "For the inner man to dwell in the Christ by means of the faith that exists in your hearts."

Heb. ii, 5, "For unto angels' *assurances*, hath he not put in subjection *man's knowledge of* the world to come."

1 Pet. ii, 2, "As newborn babes desire the reasonably sincere milk of *brotherly love* that ye may grow thereby *unto salvation.*"

Griesbach's text has been translated by Nathan Hale (Boston, 1836), by a layman, Edgar Taylor (London, 1840), and by Samuel Sharpe (6th edition, London, 1870).

The text of Tischendorf's last edition has been translated, with scholarly care and great exactness and fidelity, by Samuel Davidson, D.D. (London, 1875).

Tischendorf's text, but taken from various editions, had been translated by G. R. Noyes, D.D., Harvard University, 1868. The English version is often good, but too often free, as may be seen in the examples adduced by Dr. Davidson in the Introduction to his own New Testament.

Joseph B. Rotherham has translated the text of Tregelles,

[1] A *nom de plume*, London, 1864.

as far as it was published, and furnished his version with marks pointing out the emphatic words (London, 1872).

Mr. Darby's anonymous translation is often excellent, though the various readings mentioned are treated very curtly, and the English is occasionally rough.

The Baptist translation of the American Bible Union merits commendation in many respects, though it is more than faithful to antipædobaptist opinions. It professedly makes the Bible the book of a sect. And we have such renderings as these: Matt. iii, 1, "John the immerser"; xxi, 25, "John's immersion, whence was it? from heaven or from men?" Acts xix, 3, "Unto what were ye immersed? and they said, Unto John's immersion. John indeed immersed with the immersion of repentance"; Rom. vi, 4, "buried with him by the immersion into his death." But the verb is rendered in Luke xii, 50, "I have an immersion to undergo"; and the meaning of the preposition is fallen from, almost of necessity, in 1 Cor. i, 13, "or were ye immersed in the name of Paul?" and similarly in Matt. xxviii, 19, "into the name" being the right translation.

A person of the name of Mace published a New Testament in 1729, and Lewis gives a few of its peculiar renderings: Matt. vi, 16, "When ye fast, don't put on a dismal air as the hypocrites do"; xi, 17, "if we play a merry tune you are not for dancing; if we act a mournful part you are not in the humour"; xii, 34, "'tis the overflowing of the heart that the mouth dischargeth"; xx, 31, "the people reprimanded them to make them hold their tongue, but they bawl'd out the more, Have mercy on us"; xxii, 34, "the Pharisees hearing that he dumb-founded the Sadducees"; Mark x, 34, "they will treat him with ignominy, subject him to the lash"; xiv, 65, "and the domestics slapt him on the cheeks"; Luke x, 37, "He replied, the doctor who took pity on him"; xvii, 27, "eating and drinking, marriages and matches, was the business"; John i, 23, "I am, said he, the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Clear the way of the Lord"; 1 Cor. vii, 36, "If any man thinks it would be a reflection upon his manhood to be a stale batchelor"; 1 Thess. v, 5, "You inherit the

advantages of meridian light: we are not involved in the obscurity of night"; 13, "Don't form any brigues against them"; 14, "Comfort the pusillanimous"; James ii, 3, "If you should respectfully say to the suit of fine clothes, Sit you there, that's for quality"; iii, 5, 6, "The tongue is but a small part of the body, yet how grand are its pretensions! A spark of fire! what quantities of timber will it blow into a flame! The tongue is a brand that sets the world in a combustion: it is but one of the numerous organs of the body, yet it can blast whole assemblies: tipp'd with infernal sulphur, it sets the whole train of life in a blaze."

"A new and corrected version of the New Testament; or, a minute revision, and professed translation of the original histories, memoirs, letters, prophecies, and other productions of the evangelists and apostles was published since by Rodolphus Dickenson, Boston (U.S), 1833." Specimens of the translation are, Luke ii, "And it happened, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the embryo was joyfully agitated, and Elizabeth was pervaded by the Holy Spirit; and she exclaimed with a loud voice, and said, Blessed are you among women! and blessed is your incipient offspring! And whence is this occurrence to me, that the mother of my Lord should visit me? For behold, when the voice of your salutation sounded in my ears, the embryo was enlivened with joy." Acts i, "Moreover, this man, indeed, caused a field to be purchased with the recompense of his iniquity; and falling prostrate, a violent internal spasm ensued, and all his viscera were emitted." xvii, "Paul, then stood in the centre of the court of Areopagus, and remarked; Men of Athens, I perceive that you are greatly devoted to the worship of invisible powers." xxvi, "Festus declared with a loud voice, Paul, you are insane! Multiplied research drives you to distraction." xxviii, "And the Barbarians displayed towards us no ordinary philanthropy."

Noah Webster, the author of the Dictionary, published an edition of the Bible, with amendments of the language—that is, "by the exclusion of all archaisms, and of words deemed below the solemnity and dignity of the subject, by the insertion of euphemisms, with many verbal and grammatical alterations,"

so as to bring it into accordance with the lexicographer's standard of American English. Newhaven, 1833.

Dean Alford issued a revised translation of the New Testament which, though excellent in many points, is of unequal merit, as the work was done in haste; and the critical notes on the Greek text are too vague for the scholar, and too short for the general reader. London, 1870.

Granville Penn published a Revision in 1836, under the title of The Book of the Covenant of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Many of his numerous changes are not of great moment.

Macknight's Translation of the Epistles is loose and paraphrastic, and so is Conybeare's, in that deservedly popular volume, Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Principal Campbell's Translation of the Gospels is not so exact as it should be, though he laid down good rules for a translator. One is that he should avoid vulgarisms and affectations; yet he has himself: Matt. v, 1, "Jesus seeing so great a confluence repaired to a mountain"; v, 3, "Happy the poor who repine not"—an odd neological specimen to be found so near the base of Cairngorm; Luke xviii, 5, "lest she come perpetually, and plague me"; John i, 38, "Rabbi, which signifieth Doctor"; vii, 6, "my time is not yet come, but any time will suit you"; xxi, 5, "my lads, have ye any victuals?" He refers to other two versions, in one of which "Zacharias vented his divine enthusiasm" is read for "he prophesied," and Jesus is called "guaranter of the alliance" for "mediator of the covenant"; "the Lord of the celestial militia" stands for "Lord of hosts," and "the joy of thy Lord" is degraded into "thy master's diversions."

The Religious Tract Society, not long ago, published the Holy Bible arranged in paragraphs and sections, with emendations of the text. The preparation of this fine quarto was the work of more than ten years. The emendations are printed with brackets in the heart of the text.

Tauchnitz's "Thousandth Volume"—the Authorized Version of the New Testament, with an Introduction and some critical notes by Tischendorf, 1869—is a literary curiosity, but its

notes are too few, and also too curt, to be of very great benefit to the common reader.

Reference needs scarcely be made to the well known Revision of some Books of the New Testament by "Five Clergymen." Besides its great merits, it has done the needful work of a pioneer.

Lastly, there appeared (London, 1875) the first volume of a work compactly built together—"The New Testament: a new Translation, on the basis of the Authorized Version, from a critically revised text," &c. By John Brown M'Lellan, M.A., Vicar of Bottisham. This volume, with its symmetrical arrangement on every page of text, marginal and expository remarks, the fruit of great industry, is certainly a marvel of printing, and various forms of letter are employed. For its purity and integrity, he prints the "Received Text," and he puts it far above the very latest and most celebrated critical editions of the New Testament. The volume has also a prefatory apparatus, a Harmony, and a body of Exegetical Notes.

Rules to guide a reviser of the English version are apt to be frigid and mechanical. Newcome laid down fifteen canons in the preface to his "Translation of the Minor Prophets," and he repeated them with some variation, and at greater length, in his "Historical View of the English Biblical Translations." These rules are good; but they belong to the outer and more visible features, and take no cognizance of the minuter lineaments that give soul and character to any translation. The reader is referred to the following works on revision, the product of scholarly ability, and of critical and exegetical experience: Professor Scholefield's "Hints";[1] Archbishop Trench "On the Authorized Version of the New Testament;"[2] Bishop Ellicott's "Considerations on the Revision of the English Version";[3] Canon Lightfoot, "On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament."[4] In these volumes will be found some of the examples quoted in the following pages.[5]

[1] Cambridge, 2nd edition, 1836.
[2] London, 1858.
[3] London, 1870.
[4] London, 1871.
[5] For brief biographical sketches of King James's Revisers, see "The Translators Revived," &c., by A. W. M'Clure. New York, 1853.

The two critics referred to in the previous chapter have now passed away, each having left his work to some extent unfinished. The learned and laborious Constantine von Tischendorf[1] died in December, 1874, and the conscientious and painstaking Samuel Prideaux Tregelles died in April, 1875. It has been stated that Tischendorf was greatly swayed by the Sinaitic MS.; and to show what fascination it occasionally exerted upon him, it may be added that he excludes the last verse of St. John's Gospel (xxi, 25) solely because in that manuscript it appeared to be written with fresher or darker ink. Other eyes than his could not appreciate the difference "*coloris discrimen*," and when he showed the page to Tregelles, the English scholar at once exclaimed, "O yes, I see; the scribe took a new dip of ink after writing verse 24th."

[1] By an imperial ukase he was, in 1869, elevated to the rank of a hereditary noble of the Russian empire —an honour recognized by his own government.

CHAPTER LI.

AFTER all that has been said in the previous pages in merited praise of the Authorized Version as the work of careful conscientious scholars, it is not perfect in all points. There are some inaccuracies and misrenderings; Greek idioms are not always distinctly apprehended, and ambiguities are found. Sometimes the version falls short of the original in terseness and point, and occasionally a different turn is given to the thought. The Greek article is dealt with very capriciously; the shades of relation marked by the genitive are not uniformly noted, and it is rendered several times as an adjective of quality; the time marked by aorists and imperfects is not given in all cases even where the English idiom might allow it; the full meaning of the compound relative and of compound verbs, is not in each place brought out; tertiary predicates sink into mere epithets; the emphasis characterizing the Greek now and then evaporates in the English; prepositions are not in all cases justly distinguished; equivocal senses are given to conjunctions; synonyms are not always skilfully discriminated; the particles have not, in every instance, their due and delicate significance; some terse and brief idiomatic clauses are diluted; the same Greek term has several English renderings, and the same English term stands for several Greek words. Some clauses of the earlier versions had set a bad example, which was heedlessly copied. Italic supplements are now unduly scattered about, many of them "no better than dashes of water thrown into the sincere milk of the word."

Though the English of the version be usually so lucid, there

are some ambiguities—some creases in the Coan gauze which dim its transparency. In Chap. XLIV[1] we have given a list of peculiar words and forms found in the version, some of them obsolete and some of them with a meaning rarely found now, and others may be noted or again referred to in their connection. "Of" no longer means "by"; "spoken of the apostles of our Lord," Jude 17, where "spoken of" might be readily taken to mean "spoken about." When "of" really means "from" it is now liable to be misunderstood: "the things I have heard of him," or "which I have heard of God," John viii, 26, 40; or "that I have heard of my Father," xv, 15; "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," Luke xvi, 9, should be "out of"; it is not making Mammon your friend, but employing this world's wealth in a right way, and you shall be benefited by your beneficence. "By" itself is equivocal, for it is sometimes connected with the original cause, and sometimes with the instrumental cause. It might be often rendered "through"—1 Cor. viii, 6, "Jesus Christ, through whom are all things." "For" often signifies "because," but it was taken as meaning "in order to" in Rom. iv, 3. The translation, 2 Cor. v, 21, "He hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin," though not liable to be misunderstood, might be easily changed in arrangement; but it is surely a very extreme and unwarranted opinion, that "the verse as it stands clearly, perspicuously, and unequivocally declares the human race to be sinless,[2] and is a glaring perversion of the original Greek." Surely no one has ever so taken it, or has been perplexed by it; and such verbal order was far from being uncommon in the days of the translators, the sense being guarded by the punctuation. The position of the words, in instances of a similar kind, might be altered, yet who ever was bewildered by the statement, "and all the people that heard him, and the publicans," Luke vii, 29; or "there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water," xxii, 10; or "Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot, Lord," John xiv, 22; or "a golden cup in her hand, full of abomina-

[1] P. 208.

[2] A Plea for a New English Version of the Scriptures, by a Licentiate of the Church of Scotland, p. 187. London, 1864.

tion," Rev. xvii, 4? Amidst all the changes introduced by printers, in so many editions, no one thought of altering the phrase "strain at a gnat," Matt. xxiii, 24, which was probably a misprint in the first edition for "strain out a gnat," or rather "strain out the gnat"—"strain out," the proper translation of the Greek verb, being found in the Bishops', the Genevan, and older versions. Some, however, suppose that the change was intentional, the sense being, strain the liquor at the appearance of a gnat in it. A solitary edition of 1754 did make the alteration, but it had no followers.

A version ought never, if possible, to present to the ordinary reader a doubtful sense, but an alternative rendering may go into the margin. His question is not what means the Greek text, but what mean those English words?[1]

1 Cor. vii, 19, reads thus, "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God," and the declaration has sometimes been understood as if the meaning were, the one or the other is nothing but, or nothing else than, or identical with, the keeping of the commandments of God. The clause (1 Tim. i, 17), "the only wise God," might imply to some readers, that there were other gods, but of them wisdom could not be predicated.

Matt. xxi, 7, seems at first sight quite plain—"and brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him thereon," that is, on the clothes spread over the back of the colt, Mark xi, 2. But the question has been raised, did he not use both animals in succession?

In the first edition Mark x, 18, stands thus: "There is no

[1] It will be scarcely credited, though it is quite true, that the term "band" in the clause, "a centurion of the band called the Italian band," Acts x, 1, has been misunderstood not above twenty years ago. An English preacher, belonging to a denomination that does not compass the education of all its ministers, took the clause for his text, when he occupied a Presbyterian pulpit, and announced that his discourse was designed to show the power of divine grace in the conversion of Cornelius. For first, he was a soldier, and military life is not favourable to piety, and, secondly, he was leader of a band or company of foreign musicians, enlarging eloquently on the character of opera singers, many of whom still come from Italy.

man good, but one *that is* God," and it was not changed till 1660.

Matt. v, 16, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven;" "so" is usually taken to be emphatic: let your light shine so brightly, or in such a way, that others may see. But the "so," or "even so," simply connects the verse with the one before it; "as the lamp gives light to all that are in the house," so, or in like manner, "let your light shine before men."

"No man," is the prevailing translation of a Greek pronoun,[1] and serves the purpose well enough in a variety of places where there is a clear reference to human agents, as Matt. vi, 24, "no man can serve two masters"; or in ix, 16; xx, 7; or in Luke v, 36, 37, 39. But in many clauses "no one" would be the better rendering, and it is found very rarely, as in Mark x, 18, "none good but one"; John xvii, 12, "none of them is lost." "No man" limits the reference in John x, 29, and "man" is printed in the ordinary letters in the first edition. The form "no one" is never used in the Authorized Version. Especially in Luke vi, 38, "men" is an infelicitous insertion, there being no nominative in the original: "good measure pressed down . . . shall they give into your bosom," for the reference is not to any human bestowal of reward. "One" would be often a more appropriate representative of another pronoun than "any man." In some editions, as Fields's, 1666, the reading of John x, 28, is "neither shall any pluck"; and in verse 29, "none is able to pluck."

"The birds of the air have nests," Matt. viii, 20. The translation is not accurate, as the Greek term means only dwelling-places, though in the erroneous popular view a nest is the home of the bird.[2] But the bird builds its nest and uses it only for incubation, and never haunts it after its

[1] οὐδείς.

[2] The mistake is a common one. Milton, speaking of beasts and birds returning at night, says—

"They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
Were slunk."

young are fledged and flown. The nest is not to the bird as the hole is to the fox, a place of usual retreat. "The birds of the air have roosting places" which they frequent. In Matt. viii, 18, 28, "the other side" is vague, and might be rendered, "the other shore of the lake."

"Sat at meat," in Matt. ix, 10, and in other places, suggests an erroneous posture, and might be easily given "reclined at meat."

The "Canaanite," in the phrase "Simon the Canaanite," Matt. x, 4, is incorrectly spelled, and would imply that in some peculiar sense he belonged to Canaan. The true spelling is Cananite; or it might be given as Cananæan, to keep it distinct from the Old Testament form of name belonging to the aborigines. Nor does the epithet mean that he belonged to Cana of Galilee, though some have supposed that his marriage was the scene of Christ's first miracle; the Syro-chaldaic epithet has its Greek equivalent in "Zelotes," Luke vi, 15.

Matt. xii, 10, "And behold there was a man which had his hand withered. And they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath days?"—"him" might, to a careless reader, seem to refer to the invalid.

"Offence," as in Matt. xvi, 23, "thou art an offence unto me"; in Gal. v, 11, "offence of the cross"; and in many other places signifies what causes to stumble. Similarly the verb "offend" often does not mean to give offence, but to cause to offend or to stumble, Matt. v, 29; Rom. xiv, 20, 21. It is rendered correctly in 1 Cor. viii, 13.

Mark xi, 8, "and others cut down branches off the trees, and strawed them in the way"; in John xii, 13, "the people took branches of palm trees." Now palms have no branches proper, and to have thrown common branches on the road would only have given uncertainty to the step of the animal and impeded its progress. The meaning is, they cut the great feathery fronds that form the tufted crown of the tree, and made a layer of them, or littered them, on the road.

Mark xiv, 18, "one of you which eateth with me shall betray me," might be "one of you shall betray me, he that eateth with me"; and similarly in verse 20, "one of the twelve, he

that dippeth with me in the dish." Judas was thus singled out, as he was reclining so near Jesus that the same dish served for both, and out of that dish He gave him the "sop."

The point and beauty of our Lord's reply, Luke ii, 49, to his mother are lost in the present version. "How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business;" the idiomatic words may mean, "wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house." Her demand was not as to his engagements, but as to his place; not what he had been doing, but where he had been. The spirit of his question is, "where is a child to be found but at home, or in his father's house?" The temple was the house of his Father, and he was naturally found in it, and to it, had they fully known his Divine Sonship, they might have come at once in search of him.[1]

In Luke iii, 23, the assertion, "and Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age," conveys no definite meaning, the proper rendering being, "and Jesus was about thirty years of age when he began" . . . his public ministry.

Luke iv, 20, "And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister." "Minister" is liable to misinterpretation, and conveys to many ordinary minds a wrong sense, it being supposed to mean the president or teaching elder of the congregation, who, in discharge of his duty, would have read the lesson and addressed the people, had not Jesus taken the work into his own hand. But the minister was simply the officer who had charge of the sacred rolls.

The phrase "as much again," Luke vi, 34, might be taken as in common use, to mean double, the proper rendering being "to receive again as much"; and it is very apt to be forgotten that in the phrase "there shall be weeping," "there" is the local adverb—in that place.

Luke ix, 32, "Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep, and when they were awake they saw his

[1] Esther vii, 9, ἐν τοῖς Ἀμὰν, in the house of Haman; εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ, into the house of my brother (Lysias, vol. II, p. 356, Oratores Attici, ed. Dobree). See examples in Phrynichus, ed. Lobeck, p. 110.

glory"—a rather indistinct rendering, a better translation might be "were heavy with sleep, but having kept awake throughout, they saw his glory."

"Also" is ambiguous in Luke x, 1, "the Lord appointed other seventy also."

In Luke xvi, 8, "the lord" might mean the Saviour, and some have been perplexed by such a meaning, but it is merely the master of the unjust steward—"his lord."[1]

Luke xviii, 12, "I give tithes of all that I possess," but only in the perfect does the verb signify to "possess"—I give tithes of all that I acquire. Tithe was taken only of fruit or annual increase, not of money laid up or possessed. The verb is well rendered "provide" in Matt. x, 9, "get" in the margin superseding the "possess" of the older versions, the Genevan having in the margin "provide not for"; and, better still, "obtained" in Acts xx, 28, and it is twice rendered "purchased"—a sense suggested by the context. Nor can it bear the meaning of "possess" in Luke xxi, 19; but it is "in your patience, or patient endurance of these things, ye shall win your souls." The translation of the same verb is also wrong in 1 Thess. iv, 4.

The translation of Luke xxii, 29, 30, is hazy, and might be given with more exactness, "and I appoint unto you, as my Father appointed unto me, a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom."

A peculiar and natural touch is found in the right translation of Luke xxii, 56, "and a certain maid seeing him" (Peter) as "he sat in the light," or "at the light"[2] of the fire, as the gleam of the burning charcoal fell on his face and features, she recognized him.

The meaning of John i, 9, depends on the punctuation, as the participle rendered "which cometh" might agree, as a neuter nominative, with light, or, as an accusative masculine, with man. Similarly, in Matt. xix, 28, where our version, in the first edition, rightly places a comma after "me," and gives

[1] The word is actually spelled with a capital, as "Lord," in some editions—as in a quarto, London, 1648. Printed by the Companie of Stationers.

[2] πρὸς τὸ φῶς.

"in the regeneration when," that being the period, "when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory," and when the promised reward shall be bestowed. But the ambiguity in Acts viii, 26, will remain with any rendering of the Greek. Is it Gaza or the way to Gaza which is desert? The solution can be found neither in printing nor translation.

John iv, 9, reads, "the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans," and yet the previous verse affirms that the disciples were at the very time in process of dealing with the Samaritans, having "gone away into the city to buy meat." The verb signifies familiar or friendly intercourse.

John ix, 17, "what sayest thou of him that he hath opened thine eyes?" may be understood in two ways, but there is only one question, and the sense is, What sayest thou of him because, or in that, he opened thine eyes?

John x, 14, 15, the connection between the two verses is obliterated by the punctuation, and it should be, "I know mine own and mine own know me, even as the Father knoweth me and I know the Father."

In the question, "have ye any meat?"[1] (John xxi, 5), the word is used in its English sense of animal food, meaning here "fishes"; hence the injunction at once to cast the net.

In the phrase, Acts iv, 4, "the number of the men was about five thousand," in relation to ii, 41, there is want of clearness, but the proper translation is "the number became, or rose to be, five thousand."

Acts vi, 1 records, "a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews." Our translators meant Grecians to represent Hellenists, and Greeks to represent Hellenes, as in this passage and in ix, 29, and in xi, 20; and in this last place they had Hellenists in their Greek text. But ordinary readers do not readily appreciate the distinctions of Grecians and Greeks, and have wondered that there should have been Gentiles in the Church prior to the conversion either of Cornelius or of the

[1] Meat among the people in Scotland signifies food generally. The Scottish term "kitchen" represents the meaning of the Greek noun exactly, for it signifies whatever is eaten with bread, whether fish, beef, mutton, fowls, or eggs, &c.

Ethiopian eunuch. But both the parties in this case were of Jewish race and blood, the Hebrews being native Jews, and the Grecians Jews born out of Palestine, the distinction of race being Jew and Greek, and of language and birthplace, Hebrew and Hellenist. The foreign Jews murmured that their widows did not receive as much daily dole from the common table as did those of the home-born Jews.

The italic supplement as object to the verb, in Acts vii, 59, is wholly unwarranted—"they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying;" "they stoned Stephen," "invoking and saying Lord Jesus," the Lord Jesus being the direct object of the martyr's invocation.

Acts x, 12, "wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts," literally "all four-footed beasts," a popular mode of description which need not have been corrected.

The apostle begins his address at Mar's hill with these words Acts xvii, 22, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious"—it has been often remarked that such a version carries blame in it. But the apostle simply puts aside this charge of being a "setter forth of strange gods," by quietly saying, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive in all things ye carry your devoutness very far"—the proof being that he had seen an altar with an inscription—"to an unknown God." In verse 23, the noun rendered "devotions"—"I beheld your devotions," signifies not devout feeling or attitude, but objects of adoration.

The phrase, "wicked lewdness," in Gallio's speech, Acts xviii, 14, is misleading to modern English readers, as it now has changed its meaning, the sense being here, "evil misdeeds," the idea of sensuality not being in it.

The rendering is ambiguous in Acts xxiii, 27, "this man should have been killed," the meaning being "this man would have been killed, or was on the point of being killed."

Acts xxvi, 28, "Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God that not only thou but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds." Agrippa, filled with Jewish prejudice, had sunk into a Roman

voluptuary, and his utterance is a bitter sneer that reaches its climax in the word "Christian," a contemptuous epithet on the royal tongue. Paul had appealed to him, and expressed his conviction that he was so far on his side as a man believing the prophets, and Agrippa scornfully repels the insinuation, "With small effort art thou persuading thyself to make me a Christian; or, with small persuasion, thou wouldest fain make me a Christian." "I would to God," is the reply, whether with small effort or with great, "not only thou, but also all that hear me this day might become such as I am, except these bonds." The meaning "almost," which cannot be borne out, is from the Genevan and Beza's *propemodum*. Tyndale and the Great Bible had "somewhat thou bringest me in mind for to become a Christian." [1]

There is an extraordinary rendering in Acts xxvii, 40, "When they had taken up the rudder bands they committed *themselves* unto the sea;" after the earlier version, the Genevan being as unintelligible, "committed the ship," the sense being, casting loose the anchors they left them in the sea, as in the margin.

A worthy member of a Scottish church court once warned its members not to call their deliberations a "debate," for debate was one of the rank sins condemned by the inspired apostle in Rom. i, 29; but the term there means "strife."

The archaism, 1 Cor. iv, 4, "I know nothing by myself," introduced by Tyndale, will be better given now by "I know nothing against myself." The idiom is old English, as in Webb's Travels,[2] 1590, "they could find nothing by me;" Cranmer says to Henry VIII, "I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen," that is, against her. The marginal rendering "day," for the "judgment," in the text of the previous verse is literal. Tyndale has "mans day" in brackets (second edition); and Coverdale has it without them; the other versions, with the exception of the Rheims, having

[1] Chrysostom conjectures that the apostle did not understand what ἐν ὀλίγῳ signified, but took it to mean ἐξ ὀλίγου. See a long note in Meyer's Commentary on the phrase. The reading πείθῃ, found in A, is accepted by some for πείθεις, found in ℵ, B, and other authorities.

[2] P. 30, ed. Arber, London, 1868.

"day." "Day" meant the "day of hearing and deciding a cause"; and "daysman" was one who, as umpire, appointed the day of trial (Job ix, 33).

We have no word to stand for the epithet rendered "natural" in 1 Cor. ii, 14; xv, 44; "psychic" is unintelligible, and "soulish" has no meaning.[1]

Gal. i, 18, "I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter." To see a person is still a colloquial phrase, meaning to hold an interview with him.

The phrase, "brotherly love," 1 Thess. iv, 9, is not exact, for it may mean either, subjectively, the love felt by a brother, or, objectively, the love which is felt toward a brother.[2] The last is the true signification,—the love that a brother claims or is entitled to. "Brotherly" love, not because I feel that I am his brother, but brother-love, because I feel that he is my brother.

Philip. iv, 2, 3, "I beseech Euodia, and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord. And I intreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which laboured with me in the gospel." This translation seems to imply that two sets of persons are referred to—first, the two women who had disagreed, and then the others who had helped in the Gospel; but, as the relative shows, the connection is, "I beseech them to be of the same mind, I entreat thee, also, help them as being women,[3] who laboured with me in the gospel."

The proper translation of Gal. ii, 9, is not "James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars," but who were "reputed pillars"; similarly, James i, 26. The phrase, "an old disciple," applied to Mnason, of Cyprus, in Acts xxi, 16, is inferentially true; for the real meaning is a disciple from the first, like his fellow-Cypriote, Barnabas, converted perhaps at

[1] Psalm cxxiv, 3, "then had they swallowed us up quick," that is, alive; but quick is often there taken as an adverb, or "speedily."

[2] Φιλαδελφία is brother-love. Thus, φιλαργυρία is love of silver, φιλανθρωπία love of man, φιλοσοφία love of wisdom, the last part of the compound noun denoting the object of the love.

[3] αἵτινες, "as being women who."

Pentecost. He may have been one of those "men of Cyprus," who carried the Gospel to Antioch (Acts xi, 26).

"Palace," in Philip. i, 13, suggests a wrong meaning, for the prætorium was not the royal residence, but the barracks of the imperial life-guards. A portion of the building was close upon the palace. Josephus distinguishes carefully the one building from the other. The word is rendered in the Gospels and Acts, "judgment hall," "hall of judgment," "common hall," and once unavoidably, "prætorium"—"the hall called prætorium."

In 1 Tim. iv, 1-3, the clauses are so connected that the English reader is apt to imagine that the "speaking lies" is the work of the devils, but it is the work of those who apostatize and teach the nefarious dogmas—they do it "in the hypocrisy of those who speak lies"—and "doctrines of demons" are not doctrines about those, but teachings prompted by them.

The word "atonement" occurs in Romans v, 11; but its verb is rendered "reconcile" in the previous verse, so that "the reconciliation" would be the clearer rendering.

Rom. iii, 25, "Whom God has set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood"; this punctuation directly connects "in his blood" with "faith," but it may be connected with "propitiation"—a propitiation, through faith, in his blood.

Rom. xi, 21, might be misunderstood as if repentance on the part of man might be dispensed with, and Heb. xii, 17, as if contrition had become an impossibility for Esau.

The term "business," Rom. xii, 11, itself a misrendering, or an archaism,[1] might seem to refer to worldly dealings or industry, and is often so taken; but it refers to spiritual duties.

[1] "Scrip" can scarcely be misunderstood by any one who remembers what is said of David, 1 Sam. xvii, 40, that he put the "smooth stones in a shepherd's bag, even in a scrip," but the word has of late become so current with another meaning, through joint-stock enterprises, such as railways, that its scriptural sense has to many faded away. So that when an intelligent person was asked the other day, "What 'scrip for your journey' must mean?" he replied at once, "Oh, some kind of Oriental promissory note."

In 1 Cor. i, 18, 21, "foolishness of preaching" might be thought to characterize the method of announcement, and not the thing announced—the cross, which appeared "to the Greeks foolishness."

"Dishonesty," in the phrase, "hidden things of dishonesty," 2 Cor. iv, 2, keeps its Latin sense, and means shame, and not secret chicanery or undetected fraudulent dealing.

2 Cor, xii, 16, might sound as if the apostle had really imposed upon the Corinthians "with guile."

Gal. i, 19, "but other of the apostles saw I none save James the Lord's brother," might mean, "I saw Peter, and none other of the apostles did I see, but I saw James the Lord's brother"—the inference being that James was not an apostle; or the sense might be "none other of the apostles did I see except James the Lord's brother"—the inference in that case being that James was an apostle.

The clause, "spiritual wickedness in high places," Eph. vi, 12, has been referred by other parties than Puritans and Covenanters to the hierarchy and the Court, the true rendering being "in heavenly places."

In the phrase, "the prize of the high calling," Philip. iii, 14, the epithet "high" naturally but wrongly suggests the quality of the calling and not its origin.

The clause in Col. iii, 8, "But now you[1] also put off all these," is rather ambiguous, and might be given, "But now do ye put off all those."

The phrase, "with much contention," 1 Thess. ii, 2, is apt, from its present use, to mislead; but it refers here to contest with external evils and hostilities; "in much conflict," as in Col. ii, 1, "striving" being the word in the older versions.

1 Thess. ii, 6, reads, "when we might have been burdensome," but should be "when we might have used authority"—stood on our right as apostles, and demanded a sufficient maintenance.

In 2 Tim. iii, 7, the connection is somewhat equivocal; but the words "ever learning" refer to the "silly women," not to those that lead them captive.

[1] "You" in 1611.

"Peculiar," Titus ii, 14, is liable to be misunderstood, for it has its Latin sense of special possession, and not the modern sense of "singular." It came in from Tyndale, Luther having *zum eigenthum*.[1]

Hebrews xii, 2, "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith;" literally, "of the faith"—the faith that is held forth as having produced the bright bede-roll of the previous chapter.

In Heb. xii, 23, the phrase, "general assembly," is vague, and has, moreover, a technical meaning in Scotland. The term means an assembly holding high festival.

The position of "also" in the clause "wherefore seeing we also are compassed about," Heb. xii, 1, mars the sense, for the apparent meaning is, "that the worthies celebrated in the previous chapter were also surrounded by a great cloud as we are;" whereas the sense is, that they form the cloud of witnesses overlooking the course, and we are "also," as they did, to lay aside every entanglement, and to run the race with that perseverance of which they set us an example.

In James i, 1, 2, though there is no ambiguity, the version might be more exact—"wisheth joy"—"count it all joy."

In Rev. i, 9, the statement, "I was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ," is ambiguous, as "for" may mean either that he was in Patmos, having come to it for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, or that he was in it, having been exiled to it, for having preached the Gospel.

The real meaning of the clause "are and were created," Rev. iv, 11, depends upon the punctuation, and it is usually printed, though not in 1611, as if "are" and "were" both belonged to "created" as auxiliaries, whereas there are two distinct propositions, "they were," and "they were created." The rendering "for thy pleasure" in the same clause is worse than ambiguous—it conveys a wrong reference to the English reader, as if the sense might be, "to yield thee pleasure"; but the true translation is, "on account of thy will," or "because thou didst will it."

[1] See p. 262.

The sense in Rev. xiii, 8, depends also on the pointing—"written in the book of life, of the Lamb slain, from the foundation of the world." Many modern editions have no comma at all, and in the edition of 1611 there is a comma after "Lamb." The Book of Life was written from the foundation of the world.

John vi, 33, should be "the bread of God is that" not "he." The term "heresy" in Acts xxiv, 14, tends to suggest a wrong meaning, as it now denotes false doctrine, or doctrine that deviates from some recognized standard, but the Greek noun so rendered means simply a party, faction, or sect. Philip. ii, 6, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God" does not harmonize with the context, the leading precept being, "look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others," in the spirit and after the example of Christ Jesus, who possessed equality with God, but did not regard it as something to be held tenaciously, for looking upon the things of others he emptied himself of the "form of God," and took upon him the form of a servant, &c. "Form of God" cannot mean the Essence of God; it is the manifestation of that Essence. The second clause of the last petition in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi, 13, "but deliver us from evil" is quite indefinite, for it may mean either "from evil" or "from the evil one." The sense can be determined only from the usage of the New Testament, as found in such places as Matt. xiii, 19, 38; John xvii, 15; Eph. vi, 16; 1 John ii, 13, 14; iii, 12; v, 18. In the statement Acts ii, 25, "I foresaw the Lord always before my face," the verb refers to place and not, as it does now, to time, the true rendering being given in the original psalm. The English reader, not pondering the connection very closely, might be perplexed by 1 Thess. i, 4, "knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God," and not be able to say whether this knowledge is possessed by the apostle and his associates or the Thessalonians themselves. Of course the Greek is very plain on the point, "knowing (as we do), brethren beloved of God, your election." In Acts ii, 23, the sense is, "and by hands of lawless men," that is heathen men, "ye." In Philip. iv, 15, "now ye Philippians know also" sounds like an imperative, but it is only a statement. Compare

also Luke ii, 29, "now thou releasest thy servant," "thou lettest thy servant depart."[1] In Acts v, 30, the better rendering is "whom ye hanged on a tree and slew," the participle describing the mode should precede the verb in translation.

At the same time, many peculiarities affecting the sense cannot well find place in any translation, at least in any English version. An impersonal plural is sometimes found translated as singular passive, as in Luke xii, 20, "thy soul shall be required of thee." The idiom, however, is rendered as plural in vi, 38, "men" being inserted as the nominative; but the inference is probably to higher beings. Similarly, and more correctly, in John xv, 6, "men gather them." It is not easy to represent the third personal pronoun when it occupies an emphatic place in the Greek text. The nouns rendered "respect of persons," James ii, 1, "conversation" in 1 Pet. i, 15, "ungodly" in Jude 18, and the adjective rendered "equal" in Philip. ii, 6, are in the plural number, and cannot well be represented in our idiom. Neither can such a connection as that in Rev. iii, 4; Gal. iii, 16, where a neuter substantive is followed by a masculine relative, nor the neuter adjective in the last clause of Matthew xii, 41, 42. How shall we represent that the two nominatives in 1 Thessalonians iii, 11, are connected as singular optative verbs?[2] On the other hand, sometimes the Greek singular is so vaguely translated that it may be almost taken in our Bible as either singular or plural. 1 Pet. iii, 18, "the just for the unjust," that is, "a just one for unjust ones"; James v, 6, "ye have both condemned and killed the just," the just one, whatever be the reference.[3] To preserve the harmony of the image, "book" should be "roll" in Rev. v, 1; "goblets" would be better than "vials" in Rev. xvi, 1.

The true rendering of Gal. iv, 24, is not "which things are an allegory," but "which things are allegorized," the historic facts not being explained away.

[1] See Vol. I, p. 145.

[2] See also 2 Thess. ii, 16.

[3] The phrase about the paralytic "borne of four," Mark ii, 3, has given rise, in the land of Gaelic and glens, to the whispered mysterious question, if the man had sprung from a fourfold maternity.

The translation of James iii, 3, "Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths, that they may obey us," is scarcely precise enough; but it is rather (not to take up the various reading), "if we put the bits (or bridle) of horses into their mouths in order that they may obey us, we turn about also their whole body."—As the small bit curbs the horse, and the small rudder turns the ship, as the small sparks set fire to the forest, so the tongue, a tiny organ, controls the man.

James ii, 1, "my brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ the Lord of glory with respect of persons." In this translation the common mind does not readily seize the point. But the verb is imperative: "my brethren, do not ye have or hold the faith . . . along with respecting of persons." The two things are so contradictory that they should not meet in the same person.

The participle rendered "cloven," in Acts ii, 3, means parting asunder or distributing themselves—a different idea altogether.

1 Pet. i, 17, reads, "and if ye call on the Father," which, from the position of the Greek words, is not correct, though found in Tyndale, the Great Bible, the Genevan of 1557 having, "if so be that ye call him Father," and that of 1560, "if ye call him Father," a translation adopted by Dr. Trench, but not quite accurate, as it does not take the preposition into account. Literally, it is, "if ye call on him as Father"—if ye invoke Him in his paternal character.

The punctuation misleads in 1 Peter i, 11, "searching what, or what manner of time"; the clause would thus seem to mean that the prophets searched first into the meaning of the oracle, and then into the time of its fulfilment; but the sense is, "what time or what manner of time."[1]

The punctuation always depends ultimately on the exegesis. What is the right division of words in Heb. xii, 22, 23? Which is the last clause of the one verse and first clause of the other? Does "which" refer to "God" or "word," in 1 Pet. i, 23? In 1 Pet. v, 12, does "to you" belong to "faithful" or to "brother"? The spelling of the word "spirit," with a capital or without, presents distinct senses to the English

[1] τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρόν.

reader, and is certainly to him "a note and comment." It has been questioned whether "therefore" should be at the end of John vii, 21, or at the beginning of verse 22. Much depends on the pointing of Luke xxiii, 43. Is John v, 39, to be read as indicative or as imperative; or Luke ix, 55; or John xii, 27, middle clause; or Heb. xii, 5, or xiii, 6.

The technical name "diaspora," should have been rendered the "dispersion:"[1] "will he go unto the dispersion among the Greeks or Gentiles?" John vii, 35; also, James i, 1, and 1 Peter i, 1. John xiii, 2, the true rendering of the participle is not "supper being ended," but "during supper," or "supper having begun," or "having been served."[2]

James i, 27, "religion" is not emotion based on faith, but religious service, as the verse indeed indicates.

Rev. x, 6, "That there should be time no longer"—the clause is somewhat dark, and is often misunderstood as referring to the last day, or the end of time ushering in eternity. The "time," however, is intervening time or delay, in allusion to the cry of the martyrs in vi, 10, "How long, O Lord?"

What sense can be made of Rev. xvii, 8, "They that dwell on the earth shall wonder when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is"—a creature of which existence and non-existence are predicated in the same breath? better, "when they see the beast that he was, and is not, and shall come, or shall be present (again)."

The plain reader is apt to be startled by the words, "But God be thanked that ye were the servants of sin," Rom. vi, 17, and perhaps some slight supplement might be necessary to throw the force upon the past "were."[3]

[1] διασπορά.

[2] δείπνου γε(or γι)νομένου.

[3] On the meaning of ἐπιούσιος, and a defence of the common rendering in the Lord's Prayer, see Canon Lightfoot's rich and exhaustive paper in his volume On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament, Appendix, p. 195; and see also the critical argument in favour of another meaning, "bread of life eternal," in M'Clellan's New Testament, vol. I, p. 632.

CHAPTER LII.

THE translators or revisers of 1611, in their desire to avoid the rigid uniformity of the Rheims version, have allowed themselves considerable latitude in an opposite direction, and they plead for it in their preface: "An other thing we thinke good to admonish thee of (gentle Reader), that we haue not tyed our selues to an vniformitie of phrasing, or to an identitie of words, as some peraduenture would wish that we had done, because they obserue that some learned men some where, haue beene as exact as they could that way.[1] Truly, that we might not varie from the sense of that which we had translated before, if the word signified the same thing in both places (for there bee some wordes that bee not of the same sense euery where) we were especially carefull, and made a conscience, according to our duetie. But, that we should expresse the same notion in the same particular word; as for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greeke word once by *Purpose*, neuer to call it *Intent;* if one where *Iourneying*, neuer *Traueiling;* if one where *Thinke*, neuer *Suppose;* if one where *Paine*, neuer *Ache;* if one where *Ioy*, neuer *Gladnesse*, &c. Thus to minse the matter, wee thought to sauour more of curiositie than wisedome, and that rather it would breed scorne in the Atheist, than bring profite to the godly Reader. For is the kingdome of God become words or syllables? why should wee be in bondage to them if we may

[1] Perhaps their allusion may be to Hugh Broughton's Letter on Translation which Bancroft sent to them, and it enacts the peremptory canon as its fifth rule, "The same terms must be translated the same way." Uniformity of rendering is also contended for by Erasmus and Beza.

be free, vse one precisely when wee may vse another no lesse fit, as commodiously?"

Had they used this privilege within such limits as they exemplify in the previous extract, no great fault might be found, but they have taken continuous and extraordinary license. For in working under this self-imposed canon, they give various renderings without stint to the same noun, verb, or particle, and by the reverse process they affix, in numberless instances, the same English word to very different Greek terms. In this way they often efface important distinctions which might have been preserved, and create new distinctions which ought not to exist. Not that they are to be blamed for introducing all these various renderings, for many of them existed before, and they found not a few of them in the Bishops' which they revised, and also in the earlier versions.

At the same time, to insist on rigid uniformity of translation would be absurd in principle, and misleading in result, for it must occasionally violate idiom and context. Thus the word "part" may be the usual rendering of a Greek noun, but when applied to a boat, it becomes, according to usage, "side," John xxi, 6. The substantive commonly standing as "partakers" in the majority of places at once becomes "partners" in Luke v, 7, according to English idiom. The term which is rendered "word" scores of times necessarily becomes "account" in such a phrase as Luke xvi, 2, "give an account of thy stewardship." "Meat" well represents a Greek substantive, but the term would be incongruous in reference to the corrosion of metal—eating into it—and so it technically passes into "rust" in Matthew vi, 19, 20, after Tyndale, the "canker" of the Genevan not being accepted either in the Bishops' or the present version. With generic sameness there may be specific difference. What is a living "tree" in Luke xxiii, 31 and in Rev. xxii, 2, is "wood" (timber) in Rev. xviii, 12, "staves" (clubs) in Matt. xxvi, 47, "stocks" in Acts xvi, 24, and "tree" means a "stake" in Acts v, 30. Some supernatural beings are known as angels, but the same Greek term could not be so rendered in James ii, 25, as

designating the spies whom Rahab treated so kindly, and the word is given there as "messengers." Elymas is termed a "sorcerer"[1] Acts xiii, 8, but the same noun could not well bear that translation in Matt. ii, 1, and it stands there as "wise men." The term rendered "Lord" in an address to a higher being, Matt. viii, 25, naturally becomes "sir" in speaking to one supposed to be a human equal, John iv, 11, xx, 15. A word may always retain the radical notion of heat or fervour, but there may be subjective or objective differences springing from the character of him who feels it, or from the persons or things which excite it. "Zeal"[2] in John ii, 17, and Colossians iv, 13, is "jealousy" in 2 Corinthians xi, 2; "envying" in Romans xiii, 13, "indignation" in Acts v, 17, the Rheims having "replenished with zeal." A verb may admit of several modified senses or renderings, while the same idea is underlying all of them. It may mean to "send away,"[3] as a wife by divorce, or to leave persons, places, nets, or to suffer or permit a thing, or to let off or forgive. A word may mean generally to make apparent,[4] but what is made apparent may be a statement, or a report, or a charge in a court of law, or a man's own self, and the English word would require some difference of rendering in such instances. Prepositions with the primal meaning always involved must also be modified in rendering, as they may refer to place, or time, or have a tropical signification. Still, uniformity ought to be kept wherever it can be kept. If the sacred writer has thought it fit to repeat the same Greek term, why may not the English translator do the same? In this way the characteristic differences in the various books can be preserved, and the ordinary reader will see that each writer has his favourite words, and familiar turns of speech. For the four Evangelists, in telling the same story, have each a distinctive style of thought, structure and language: the Memorabilia of St. Matthew marked by a Hebrew tincture and purpose, and by the grouping of parables and miracles: Mark characterized by minute and graphic touches brought out with

[1] μάγος [2] ζῆλος
[3] ἀπολύω [4] φανερόω

rugged force: Luke exhibiting some historic research and writing a purer and more sustained historic style: and John the Divine glorified in his ethereal portraiture of the Word made flesh, with grace poured into His lips, and the fulness of infinite love in His heart. The apostle Paul has frequent participial connections and compound verbs, a tendency to go off at a word and to interweave a parenthesis, and a fondness to exhibit relations by an accumulation of prepositions. And all these features ought to be notable and striking in any translation.

When an author writes his own thoughts, he may employ whatever language is best fitted to convey them with clearness and power, and for the sake of euphony he may exchange terms of Saxon and Latin lineage. Original composition would be bald if the same words were often repeated, and such poverty or want of variety would be an injustice to our rich and noble tongue. Nor in translating a classic would a scholar be bound to give in every case, without deviation, the same English for the same Greek term or phrase.[1] It is not expected of him, though he is supposed to present a literal and faithful version. Men of classic tastes and acquirements are able to consult the original, and of those who are not so qualified, a fraction only will possess or read such a book in the vernacular. But even in such a case there are limits to variation of rendering. What would have been said of Lord Derby's Translation of the Iliad, if for the sake of variety he had inserted occasionally other English forms of such frequent epithets as "cloud-compeller," "blue-eyed," "white-armed," "king of men," "dark-ribbed"? Would not one special characteristic of the father of song have been wilfully effaced?

The following terms, characteristic of a divine revelation of love to a sinful world, are of perpetual occurrence both in the Old and New Testament: "mercy" and its adjective are used nigh 300 times; "righteous" with its derivatives more than

[1] In Ainsworth's learned Annotations on the Pentateuch some examples of translations of the kind referred to may be found. See also Revision of the English Version, by Philip Schaff, D.D., New York, 1875, and Revision of the English Bible (p. 191), by John R. Beard, D.D., London, 1857.

500 times; "pray" and "worship" are met with at least 400 times, and "save," "saviour," "salvation" nigh 500 times. These terms illustrate by their pervading presence the nature of the Book to which they belong, and therefore they are not in any way to be disguised or weakened by synonymous changes, for the Book not only reveals deliverance from guilt, but leads to the service of the Divine Benefactor whose mercy is conditioned by righteousness, and to whom on His throne of grace all have access, while every one who comes is welcomed through the merit and mediation of the Living Intercessor. The repetition of such words is of itself refreshing, like "rain upon the mown grass." It is matter of regret that the noun "faith" has no verb of its own root, but that "believe" must be employed—to the loss of the English reader who does not readily feel the connection between the two words. In the Authorized Version these words often meet us, "faith" being found more than 340 times, and "belief" nigh 300 times, the allied word "trust" showing itself also scores of times. Neither is there any Saxon verb cognate to "righteousness," and the Latin "justify" has been used, to the loss of the English student of the New Testament, who fails to perceive the close relation. Might not "righten" have sufficed? for "justification" is the rightening of the guilty soul in the eye of God, and of his law. Such rightening is ever based on righteousness, either that belonging to the creature himself, or, as in our case, that wrought out by the Sinbearer, and accepted by us—"the righteousness which is of God by faith."[1] Such words are distinctive and must be of constant iteration in the Records of a system which holds up faith as the one grand requisite—the one living medium of blessing, since through it, as the receptive faculty, pardon, purity, and life are brought home to the heart which believes the Testimony, and has its personal trust in Him whom that Testimony enshrines.

It is quite true that the sense is not affected by many minor variations, such as the following in the one chapter of Matthew and the corresponding passage of Mark.

[1] See Girdlestone's Synonyms of the Old Testament. London, 1871.

MATTHEW XXIV.		MARK XIII.	
Verse		Verse	
14	Witness.	9	Testimony.
17	Come down.	15	Go down.
18	Return back.	16	Turn back again.
21	Tribulation.	19	Affliction.
„	Since the beginning.	„	From the beginning.
23	Believe it not.	21	Believe him not.
24	The very elect.	22	Even the elect.
25	Told you before.	23	Foretold you.
29	Shall the sun be darkened.	24	The sun shall be darkened.
32	His branch.	28	Her branch.
„	Nigh.	„	Near.
34	Be fulfilled.	30	Be done.

Additional examples may be adduced from the Synoptical Gospels, and in most of them the meaning is not seriously marred.

Matt. iii, 4, "a leathern girdle"—Mark i, 6, "a girdle of skin." Matt. iii, 8, "meet for repentance"—Luke iii, 8, "worthy of repentance." Matt. iv, 6, "concerning thee"—Luke iv, 10, "over thee." Matt. iv, 19, "follow me"—Mark i, 17, "come ye after me." Matt. iv, 20, "they left their nets"—Mark i, 18, "they forsook their nets." Matt. vi, 10, "in earth as it is in heaven"—Luke xi, 2, "as in heaven, so in earth." Matt. vii, 1, "that ye be not judged"—Luke vi, 37, "and ye shall not be judged." Matt. viii, 8, "shouldest come"—Luke vii, 6, "shouldest enter." Matt. viii, 33, "they that kept"—Mark v, 14, "they that fed." Matt. ix, 2, "(thy sins) be forgiven"—Luke v, 20, "are forgiven."[1] Matt. ix, 17, "runneth out"—Mark, ii, 22, "spilled." Matt. ix, 6, "go"—Mark, ii, 11, "go thy way." Matt. ix, 10, "sat down with"—Mark ii, 15, "sat also together with." Matt. ix, 16, "that which is put in to fill it up"—Mark, ii, 21, "that filled it up." Matt. ix, 20, "hem"—Luke viii, 44, "border." Matt. ix, 34, "prince"—Luke xi, 15, "chief." Matt. ix, 37, "harvest . . . plenteous"—Luke x, 2, "harvest . . . great." Matt. x, 14, "when ye depart"—Luke ix, 5, "when ye go out." Matt. x, 14, "the dust"—Luke ix, 5, "the very dust." Matt. x, 18, "governors"—

[1] See page 259.

Mark xiii, 9, "rulers." Matt. x, 21, "shall deliver up"—Mark xiii, 12, "shall betray." Matt. x, 21, "child"—Mark xiii, 12, "son." Matt. x, 22, "but he that endureth to the end shall be saved"—Mark xiii, 13, "but he that shall endure the same shall be saved." Matt. x, 27, "preach"—Luke xii, 3, "proclaim." Matt. xi, 4, "go and shew"—Luke vii, 22, "go your way and tell." Matt. xi, 6, "receive their sight"—Luke vii, 22, "see." Matt. xi, 5, "the poor have the gospel preached"—Luke vii, 22, "to the poor the gospel is preached." Matt. xi, 7, "to say unto the multitudes"—Luke vii, 24, "to speak unto the people." Matt. xi. 12, (kingdom of heaven) "suffereth violence"—Luke xvi, 16, every man "presseth" into it. Matt. ix, 24, "maid"—Mark v, 41, "damsel." Matt. xxvi, 69, "damsel"—Mark xiv, 69, "maid." Matt. xi, 19, "behold a man gluttonous"—Luke vii, 34, "behold a gluttonous man." Matt. xi, 25, "because"—Luke x, 21, "(I thank thee) that." Matt. xii, 27, "children"—Luke xi, 19, "sons." Matt. xiii, 3, "a sower went forth"—Mark iv, 3, "there went out a sower"—Luke viii, 5, "a sower went out." Matt. xiii, 5, "deepness"—Mark iv, 5, "depth." Matt. xiii, 23, "an hundred fold"—Mark iv, 20, "an hundred." Matt. xiii, 32, "least of"—Mark iv, 31, "less than." Matt. xiii, 32, "the greatest among"—Mark iv, 31, "greater than." Matt. xiii, 21, "tribulation"—Mark iv, 17, "affliction." Matt. xiv, 14, "went forth and"—Mark vi, 34, "when he came out." Matt. xiv, 14, "a great multitude"—Mark vi, 34, "much people." Matt. xiv, 24, "tossed with"—Mark vi, 48, "toiling in." Matt. xiv, 35, "country"—Mark vi, 55, "region." Matt. xiv, 35, "those that were diseased"—Mark vi, 55, "those that were sick." Matt. xv, 26, "to dogs"—Mark vii, 27, "unto the dogs." Matt. xv, 27, "truth, Lord"—Mark vii, 28, "yes, Lord." Matt. xv, 32, "continue"—Mark viii, 2, "have now been." Matt. xv, 32, "in the way"—Mark viii, 3, "by the way." Matt. xv, 33, "to fill"—Mark viii, 4, "satisfy." Matt. xv, 39, "took ship"—Mark viii, 10, "entered into a ship." Matt. xvi, 23, "those that be of men"—Mark viii, 33, "the things that be of men." Matt. xvi, 25, "will lose"—Mark viii, 35, "shall lose"—Luke ix, 24, "will lose." Matt. xvi, 28, "till they see"—Mark ix, 1, "till they have seen." Matt. xvii, 1, "bringeth up"—Mark ix, 2, "leadeth."

Matt. xvii, 5, "which said"—Mark ix, 7, "saying." Matt. xvii, 2, "face"—Luke ix, 29, "countenance." Matt. xvii, 18, "departed out"—Mark ix, 26, "came out." Matt. xvii, 19, "apart"—Mark ix, 28, "privately." Matt. xvii, 22, "betrayed," —Mark ix, 31, "delivered." Matt. xviii, 2, "little child"—Mark ix, 36, "child." Matt. xix, 1, "beyond"—Mark x, 1, "further side." Matt. xix, 7, "writing"—Mark x, 4, "a bill." Matt. xix, 20, "kept"—Mark x, 20, "observed it." Matt. xx, 22, "are ye able?"—Mark x, 38, "can ye?" Matt. xx, 24, "moved with indignation"—Mark x, 41, "much displeased." Matt. xx, 25, "exercise dominion"—Mark x, 42, "exercise lordship." Matt. xx, 27, "chief"—Mark x, 44, "chiefest." Matt. xx, 30, "way" —Mark x, 46, "high way." Matt. xx, 28, "minister"— Luke xxii, 26, "doth serve." Matt. xx, 31, "rebuked"—Mark x, 48, "charged." Matt. xxi, 1, "sent"—Mark xi, 1, "sendeth forth."

Nor does it matter as to meaning in the following variations, some of them quite unaccountable. One verb is twice rendered "exalted" in Luke xviii, 14, while the verb in contrast is in one clause "abased," and in the other clause "humbleth." The same verb which is rendered "merry" in Luke xv, 24, becomes "make merry" in verses 29 and 32. "Beloved" in Matt. xvii, 5, and in Mark ix, 7, becomes "well-beloved" in Mark xii, 6, "dearly beloved" in Romans xii, 19, and simply "dear" in Eph. v, 1; "without excuse" in Romans i, 20, is "inexcusable" in ii, 1; "willing to show the Jews a pleasure," Acts xxiv, 27, becomes in xxv, 9, "willing to do the Jews a pleasure." The familiar compound noun rendered "adoption," Rom. ix, 4, becomes "adoption of sons" in Gal. iv, 5, and "adoption of children" in Eph. i, 5. How could such variations originate?

There may be no sensible loss as to ultimate sense in the following cluster of changes; a particle rendered in these different ways, yea, rather, nay, but, yes, verily, yea doubtless, or the same preposition rendered for the sake, for the cause, because, wherefore, for, by reason of.[1] The same preposition assumes two different forms in the same verse, 2 Cor. i, 11,

[1] διά.

in the first clause "for us," and in the last clause, "on our behalf"; and "what" and "how" in the same verse represent the same interrogative pronoun, 1 Cor. vii, 16. "Carried away to Babylon" in Matt. i, 11, is "brought to Babylon" in the next verse; the "jailor" in Acts xvi, 23, is "keeper of the prison" in 27; "beareth fruit" in John xv, 2, occurs in two consecutive clauses, but "bring forth fruit" in the third clause. The same document called a "letter" in Acts xxiii, 25, is "epistle" in 33, the same change occurring in a single verse in 2 Cor. vii, 8. "Truth" in the first part of the verse in 1 Tim. ii, 7, is "verity" in the second; "dwell" in the first clause of John i, 39, is "abide" in the following one, "apparel" in James ii, 2, is "raiment" in 3; "profession" in 1 Tim vi, 12, is "confession" in 13; the epithet "living" in 1 Peter ii, 4, is "lively" in 5, vailing the identity of Christ's life with that of his people; "were afraid" in Luke xxiv, 5, is "affrighted" in 37. The same technical noun rendered "dispersed" in John vii, 35, becomes "which are scattered abroad" in James i, 1, and simply "scattered" in 1 Peter i, 1. In the same verse (Matt. xxvii, 60), "tomb" occurs, and then "sepulchre,"[1] representing the same noun. In Luke xvi, 8, 9, 10, we have the epithet "unjust" and then "unrighteous," for the same Greek term. "To company" in 1 Cor. v, 9, becomes "to keep company" in 11. But though in these examples the meaning is not obscured, the English reader loses something, for he fails to identify the terms employed by the sacred writer. Why should not he have the same advantages as the reader of the Greek original? Is he not entitled to demand it?

Capricious love of variety is often manifest, for one term is represented by "field," "farm," "country," "land," "piece of ground,"[2] while "field" might suit many of the places. "Salute" and "greet" are renderings often exchanged to no desirable purpose—"salute" being the only rendering in the Gospels; "embraced" and "took leave" get a place in Acts, while "greet" occurs four times in Romans xvi, as against "salute" seventeen times. "Salute" and "greet" both occur

[1] *μνημεῖον.* [2] *ἀγρός.*

twice in 1 Cor., and once in 2 Cor.; "salute" and "greet" are found in the same verse in Phil. iv, 21, also in Titus iii, 15, and in 3 John 14; "embraced" is a wrong rendering in Heb. xi, 13; "greet" is used in all cases where the addition is made of "an holy kiss" or a "kiss of charity," except in Romans xvi, 16. Why should the noun rendered "goodness" in Romans be "gentleness" in Galatians, but "kindness" in the other parts of the New Testament? Why should the same word be "debtor" in Matt. xxiii, 16, but "guilty" in 18? Why should "wailing" be found twice in one chapter of Matthew (xiii), and "weeping" be the rendering of the same term in every other place? "Faithful"[1] in the first three Gospels is also found in 2 Tim., and on to the end of the New Testament, but it is "believing" in John xx, 27, and several times in 1 Tim. (in which it is also translated "true"), but is rendered in other places by some part of the verb "believe." On the other hand, while the noun which is always correctly rendered "unbelief" has its adjective as "faithless" in the Gospels, with one exception, but in the Epistles "unbelievers," "unbelieving," "believeth not," it is also twice rendered by "infidel" as in 2 Cor. vi, 15, and in 1 Tim. v, 8. What possible end could be gained by giving the same phrase nine times as "eternal life," or "life eternal," and eight times "everlasting life" or "life everlasting," the odd thing being that it is uniformly "eternal" in Mark and in the first Epistle of John, while the renderings regularly alternate in Luke, Acts, and 1 Timothy, and it cannot but perplex when "everlasting punishment" occurs in one clause, and "life eternal" in the next in Matt. xxv, 46. The same adverb[2] is "of a truth," "surely," "truly," in Matthew; "of a truth" always in Luke; but "indeed" in John six times, and in 1 John "verily." Why should one simple verb[3] have three translations in Matthew, "abide," "remain," "tarry," while in the one verse in Luke xxiv, 29, the expressed desire is "abide with us," and the result is thus stated, "and he went in to tarry"? In John we find "abode," "remain," "dwell," "continue," "tarry," and "endure," and this diversity is continued throughout the New Testament,

[1] πιστός. [2] ἀληθῶς. [3] μένω.

only that "dwell" is the uniform rendering in the fourth chapter of 1 John, but in the second chapter of the same Epistle, verse 24, the verb is given in the same verse as "abide," "remain," "continue." Surely this favourite term of John which occurs about as often in his writings as in all the other parts of the New Testament should receive as far as possible a uniform rendering. Confusion is created by rendering the same verb[1] rightly, by "hope" thirteen times, and wrongly by "trust" in eighteen other places. The substantive[2] which is always "trespasses" in the Gospels, is "offence" in the polemical section of Romans, but "fall" in Romans xi, 11, 12, "fault" in Galatians vi, 1, and in James v, 16. "Trespasses" might suit the most of these places, and there was surely no reason why the noun should be in Col. ii, 13, "sins" in the first clause, and "trespasses" in the last. The word translated "helper"[3] (Rom. xvi, 3) is also rendered with no apparent necessity—"work-fellow," "fellow-worker," "fellow-helper," "fellow-labourer," "labourer together with." These variations might be greatly abridged, and "fellow-worker" might take their place. It is worse than mere variation to render a verb in one verse "did service," and then in the following verse to alter it into "be in bondage" in Gal. iv, 8, 9. It is bewildering to find without any tangible reason the same phrase given as "God, even the Father,"[4] in Romans xv, 6, 1 Cor. xv, 24, and 2 Cor. i, 3; "God and the Father" in Col. iii, 17; "the God and Father" in 2 Cor. xi, 31, Eph. i, 3, and 1 Peter i, 3; "of God and of the Father," Col. ii, 2; but the common Greek text in the latter part of this last verse cannot be sustained. Similar variations are found in the older versions. One can assign no ground why the quotation from Deut. xxxii, 35, should be presented as "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," in Rom. xii, 19, but "vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord," in Heb. x, 30, the variation originating with Tyndale. "Rabbi," the official Syro-Chaldaic term in English characters, is rightly found in seven places, but it is gratuitously turned into "Master," in some eight other places, as "Hail, master," in

[1] ἐλπίζω.
[2] παράπτωμα.
[3] συνεργός.
[4] ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ.

Matt. xxvi, 49, where "Rabbi" should have been kept to show that the traitor gave the Lord his full formal title in the very act of over-kissing and selling him. "Rabboni," which is found only twice, is given as "Lord" in Mark x, 51, but "Rabboni" in John xx, 16. The verb which means literally "to speak against," [1] when the participle becomes a kind of epithet, gets the translation of "gainsaying," and "gainsayer," the first syllable "gain" being really against, both the Wycliffite versions having the full form, "againsaying," in Jude 11; but there was no charm in giving the Saxon form "spake against" in the first part of the verse, and the literal Latin form "contradicting" in the second in Acts xiii, 45, while it becomes "not answering again" in Titus ii, 9, a counsel addressed to slaves, the margin having rightly "not gainsaying," which is the text of the Rheims; "again" was introduced by Tyndale, and kept by the older versions, as if to answer again implied opposition or refusal. "Put on" [2] would suit all the places literal and metaphorical where we have "had on," "clothed with," "arrayed," but in Mark xv, 17, 20, we have "clothed him" in one verse, and "put clothes on" in the other. What edification was there in altering "sick of the palsy" into "taken with palsy," and in alternating these renderings of the participle so precisely in Luke and Acts, and allowing it to degenerate into "feeble" in Heb. xii, 12. The same participle is rendered in the same breath, "that preach the gospel," and "bring glad tidings of good things," Rom. x, 15, the Rheims version being at the other and awkward extreme, "that evangelise peace," "that evangelise good things." The epithet "fair" applied to the babe Moses in Acts vii, 20, is "proper" in Heb. xi, 23. These changes often happen within the limits of the same book, the same chapter—aye, as we have seen more than once, the same verse. We can discern little motive for them in many places, but the desire to enliven the version by the use of terms all but synonomous. Thus "all manner of sickness" in Matt. iv, 23, becomes "every sickness" in ix, 35; "affliction" in Mark iv, 17, is "tribulation" in xiii, 24; "deceit" in Mark vii, 22, is "craft" in xiv, 1; "armour" in

[1] ἀντιλέγω. [2] ἐνδύω.

2 Cor. vi, 7, is "weapons" in x, 4; "honesty" in 1 Tim. ii, 2, is "gravity" in iii, 4.

Many of the examples in the previous paragraphs show variation apparently for the wanton love of it, and might be greatly reduced in number, though absolute uniformity might not be everywhere obtainable, or even desirable. The common reader has no means whatever of detecting these changes, and probably marks them in his mind as proofs of different readings in the original.

But though the meaning, as has been mentioned already, may not be altered by some of these unneeded changes, yet often they obscure the connection, In Colossians ii, 9, we have "in him dwelleth all the fulness," and then in 11, "ye are complete in him";[1] but the terms employed are cognate, "ye are filled up in him"—the fulness of Christ and the fulness of Christ's. The connection is clouded by the variation, and the older versions are followed; only in this epistle is the verb so rendered. "Hurt and damage" in Acts xxvii, 10, becomes "harm and loss" in verse 21. The sense is not injured, but the change veils the connection between the prediction of the apostle and its precise fulfilment. No difference of sense is involved in the various renderings of "kin," "kinsfolk," "kinsman," but there is an unwarranted speciality to modern readers in the translation "cousin," in Luke i, 36 and 58. "Cousin" represented in those days various relationships, but Tyndale needed not to have varied from his own "kynswoman," in Lev. xviii, 12. The technical term "hinder part of the ship" in Mark iv, 38, is rendered "stern" in Acts xxvii, 29, and "hinder part" in verse 41, in contrast with "the fore part," in the same verse. The clause "it was counted unto him for righteousness" in Romans iv, 3, is rendered "imputed to him" in verse 22; and in the same chapter the verb is "reckoned" three times, and "imputed" six times. The pregnant phrase occurs also in Gal. iii, 6, and in James ii, 23. The apostle's studied repetition of such an assertion of grave theological moment should have secured uniformity of rendering. In the matter of Eastern clothing, though

[1] πλήρωμα . . . πεπληρωμένοι.

the drapery is so very simple, the translators have run riot. One term[1] is represented by "long garment," "long clothing," "long robes,"—"robes," the best rendering, the only one used in the Apocalypse, being quite sufficient. Another term[2] is rendered "cloke," both as a general term, and a special one for the outer robe; but there are also "robe," "vesture," "apparel," "raiment" ten times, about ten times "garment," and often "clothes." A third term,[3] meaning the inner robe, or tunic, is given most frequently as "coat," once "garment," in Jude 23, and once "clothes," in Mark xiv, 63. A fourth term[4] is translated by "apparel," "clothing," "raiment," "robe," while another noun,[5] allied to the second referred to, is "raiment," "vesture," "apparel," and "array" in 1 Tim. ii, 9, as if it had been suggested by "gold or pearls." Though "satisfy," Mark viii, 4, occurs in the introduction to the miracle, and in the record of it in verse 8 is changed into "filled," the meaning is not lost, but the correspondence of the result to the challenge offered by the disciples is darkened. What possible connection could the common reader imagine between the phrases, "dost thou commit sacrilege?" in Romans ii, 22, and the metamorphosed rendering, "robbers of churches," in Acts xiv, 37? "Sacrilege" came in with the Genevan of 1560, and was adopted by the Bishops' and the Rheims in both places, Tyndale and the Great Bible having "robbest God of his honour" in the first quotation. "Church" was applied to heathen temples before 1611. The noun which properly signifies "teacher,"[6] and is so rendered ten times, becomes "master" in no less than forty-six passages in the Gospels and once in the Epistle of James. In this last place the precept, "be not many masters," is specially liable to be misunderstood, if it be not borne in mind that in older English, as in present Scotch, the teacher of a school is familiarly called its "master," as also in the public schools of England. The epithet "Master" so often given to Jesus tends now to mislead, as if it referred to authority, and not to instruction. In Matt. x, 24, the true contrast is, "a disciple (learner) is not above his teacher,"

[1] στολή. [2] ἱμάτιον. [3] χιτών.
[4] ἐσθής. [5] ἱματισμός. [6] διδάσκαλος.

"and ye call me teacher and Lord"—one who imparts instruction—to whom loyal obedience is due. Another term[1] five times referring to God or the divine Saviour, is rendered "Lord," and five times, referring to man, it is translated "master"—in Timothy, Titus, and 1 Peter; but "master" also stands for wholly different nouns. In John viii, 22, and in Acts vii, 42, the negative particle in an interrogation is from difference of idiom not translated,—"Will he kill himself?" "Have ye offered me slain beasts and sacrifices?" but it is rendered in John iv, 29, "Is not this the Christ?" The variation is unnecessary and confusing; but the last rendering as found in our present Bible, "Is not this the Son of David?" Matt. xii, 23, is an unauthorized deviation from the first edition of 1611, which reads, "Is this the Sonne of David?" The negative particle is also found in a Cambridge quarto of 1637, and in Buck & Daniel's edition of 1638, though it is not in Barker's folio of 1640. The better form might be, "Can this be the Christ?"

But it would be wrong to insist that all these swarms of variations were simply the result of a capricious taste, for there is little doubt that the revisers of 1611 imagined that many of the changes which they preserved or introduced were dictated or suggested by the idiom or the context. While they gave "nigh," "near," "nigh at hand," as the renderings of one particle[2] in reference both to time and place, the meaning slips out of view when it is translated, after the Bishops' and the Great Bible, simply "from" in Acts i, 12; but probably their reason was, that nearness was implied in the measurement—"a sabbath day's journey," Tyndale, Coverdale, and the Genevan having "nye to." In giving a preposition two renderings in the same clause or question, "the baptism of John, whence was it; from heaven, or of men?" in Matt. xxi, 25, they doubtless imagined that in keeping this variation, which is as old as Tyndale, they were marking the distinction between a divine origin, and a human commission. But as the Evangelist himself did not mark the distinction, why should they attempt it? The noun translated by "famine" and

[1] δεσπότης. [2] ἐγγύς.

twice by "dearth" in Acts, has in the parable of the prodigal son the rendering "hunger," suggested by its immediate personal application in Luke xv, 17; the older versions and the Rheims have "famine." The word which is given as "creation" five times becomes "creature," where it is regarded as meaning sentient beings, as in Rom. viii, 10, 2 Cor. v, 17, and one can easily imagine the reason why it is rendered "building" in Heb. ix, 11, and "ordinance" in 1 Pet. ii, 13. The personal noun usually rendered "witness"[1] became, in some clauses, naturally "martyr," "the blood of thy martyr" in Acts xxii, 20, "Antipas, my faithful martyr" Rev. ii, 13, "blood of the martyrs" xvii, 6,—the word was left untranslated, as the fires of Smithfield had naturalized it. But it is not in the text of Tyndale, Rogers, or Cranmer, three martyred biblical witnesses, and it came into the Bishops' from the Genevan of 1560, that of 1557 placing it in the margin. The verb commonly represented by "deliver up"[1] becomes "betrayed" when it points to the treachery of Judas, but the revisers were not consistent in observing this distinction; Judas could scarcely designate his own act as treachery, and so it is said, "what will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?" yet in the next verse the words are "sought opportunity to betray him."[2] The historian's description of the act should be in the words of him who accepted the bribe to do it. And yet, why should it be "deliver up" in Matt. xxiv, 9, and "betray" in the following verse, when the scenes of persecution are referred to.

We can divine a reason why "change" in Heb. vii, 12, becomes "translation" in xi, 5, and why "elements" in Gal. iv, 3, becomes "rudiments" in Col. ii, 8, and "first principles" in Heb. v, 12. It may be easily understood why the same adjective was "dumb" in such a clause as "the deaf hear" and "the dumb man spake," in Mark vii, 37, and "speechless" in reference to Zechariah, in Luke i, 22. He was, however, deaf as well as dumb, for they made signs to him to know how he would have his son named. The Greek word which when written in English letters is

[1] μάρτυς [2] παραδίδωμι

"myriads" is, in Jude 14 and Rev. v, 11, "ten thousand"; as a numeral of indefinite vastness, it may be safely applied to angels, "an innumerable company of angels" in Heb. xii, 22; but, with reference to believers in Jerusalem, it dwindles down to "thousands" in Acts xxi, 20, though in an allusion to a great crowd it is "an innumerable multitude" in Luke xii, 1. It may be admitted that "happy" is used in Acts xxvi, 2, as fitting the apostle's condition, but it is also applied to those who suffer persecution in 1 Peter iii, 14, though they had been called "blessed" in Matt. v, 10.

"Parable" is but the Anglicized form of the original Greek term, and it occurs forty-six times: seventeen times in Matthew, thirteen times in Mark, and eighteen times in Luke. It becomes "comparison" in Mark iv. 30, the rendering no doubt suggested by the brevity of the parabolic statement, and "proverb" in Luke iv, 23, the rendering dictated by the pithy nature of the utterance quoted. For a similar reason presented by the context it is translated "figure" in Hebrews ix, 9, and xi, 19. But another word elsewhere rendered "proverb" is rendered "parable" in John x, 6, though in the fourth Gospel the noun truly and properly represented by "parable" never occurs. But the mistranslation in John keeps away from the reader the perception of this difference. Some reason, supposed to lie in the surrounding clauses, probably created the threefold rendering "in due time," 1 Tim. ii, 6, "in his times," 1 Tim. vi, 15, "in due times," 1 Tit. i, 3;[1] the two first variations are in the Bishops'. Why should the same word be rendered twenty-eight times "charity,"[2] always but twice in 1 Corinthians, and over eighty times "love," as always in the Gospels and to the end of Romans with one exception, xiv, 15. It is "love" as applied to individual emotion both divine and human;—"love of God," "love of Christ," "God of love," "love to all the saints," but "charity" in reference to the Christian grace in an abstract form; 1 Thess. iii, 6, and 2 Thess. i, 3, being apparent exceptions. As in more recent times, "charity" has passed from its original meaning, and is used to denote either liberality of sentiment or beneficence, the clauses "charity shall cover

[1] *καιροῖς ἰδίοις.* [2] *ἀγάπη.*

the multitude of sins," 1 Peter iv, 8, and "shall hide a multitude of sins," James v, 20, are liable to be misunderstood, as if almsgiving could in some sense secure divine forgiveness. In the first instance charity is the veil which love casts over human offences, and in the second the "sins" are those of persons who, being converted, pass into a state of pardon and acceptance. The term "charitably," in the adverbial form, was suddenly introduced by Tyndale in Romans xiv, 15, and was imitated by his successors, though his preference of "love" to "charity" was one of Sir Thomas More's complaints against his translation of 1526.[1] In the special chapter 1 Cor. xiii, "charity" was introduced by the Bishops' Version, all the older New Testaments having "love." Faith, hope, and love stand out in living connexion—faith, child-like; hope, saint-like; but love, God-like; "he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God and God in him."

The verb which means "to put" or "cause to be put to death"[2] became, when used ethically, "mortify,"[3] and a wrong translation occurs in Rom. vii, 4, "ye are become dead to the law," but as the infliction of death does not pass out of the verb, the proper rendering is, "ye were slain, or made dead to the law." It was contrary to the spirit of faithful rendering to give the vague term "comfortless" in John xiv, 18, for the same word is pointedly rendered "fatherless" in James i, 27, but the last rendering was necessitated by the following "widows." The changing of the "thief" of the first three gospels into "robber" in John x, 1, 8, could not be avoided, the clause being "a thief and a robber." Another and distinct term being rendered "thief," they were obliged to introduce "robber," and they have rightly kept it in John xviii, 40, and in 2 Cor. xi, 26.[4] The adjective usually rendered "com-

[1] See Vol. I, p. 189.

[2] *νεκρόω*

[3] "Mortify" is also a Scottish law term, and "mortification" is much the same as the English "mortmain." The property set apart by a deceased donor for charitable uses, is commonly called *his* mortification; and his nearest heir, disappointed of his expectations, may, and does sometimes, with caustic Scottish humour, style it "*my* mortification."

[4] *κλέπτης—λῃστής.*

mon"[1] in the ordinary sense, has the same rendering in Acts x, 14, in reference to the Hebrew ritual, but the translators pass into exegesis when they give "defiled" in Mark vii, 2, "unclean" thrice in Romans xiv, "unholy" in Hebrews x, 29, and the participle by "that defileth" in Rev. xxi, 27, according to the reading of their Greek text. The third person in the Blessed Trinity is sometimes in the New Testament termed "Holy Ghost," and sometimes "Holy Spirit,"[2] the former being the predominant form and occurring about 90 times. But a careful distinction is observed, as "Ghost" is never used by itself with the article or with a possessive pronoun before it, or a genitive of person or quality after it. It is invariably "the spirit," or "my spirit," or "Spirit of God," or "of the Lord," or "of Christ," or "of wisdom." But while this venerable archaic form, coming down from the Anglo-Saxon gospels and from Wycliffe, may be retained, it must be somewhat stumbling to common readers to find such collocations as "the Holy Ghost was upon him" Luke ii, 26, "it was revealed to him by the Holy Ghost" verse 27, but "he came by the Spirit into the temple," "Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost was led by the Spirit into the wilderness" iv, 1, "he returned in the power of the Spirit" verse 14; "upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost" John i, 33; "filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak . . . as the Spirit gave them utterance" Acts ii, 4; "this spake he of the Spirit, for the Holy Ghost was not yet given" John vii, 39; "which the Holy Ghost teacheth" 1 Cor. ii, 13; "the things of the Spirit of God" verse 14; "by the Spirit of God"—"by the Holy Ghost," both in 1 Cor. xii, 3.

The rendering in the second chapter of Matthew "young child" as applied to Jesus, suggested by the phrase "Mary," or "his mother," becomes simply "child" in the first and second chapters of Luke, and becomes "little child," "little children," in the three Synoptical Gospels, when character or temperament is illustrated.

The noun meaning multitude,[3] occurring fifty times in Matthew, is rendered "the people" eight times and "mul-

[1] κοινός. [2] τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. [3] ὄχλος.

titude" forty-two times; in Mark, where it is found thirty-eight times, "people" is the translation twenty times, "multitude" fifteen times, and "press," a new rendering, is given three times. St. Luke uses the term forty-one times, and in twenty-one places it is "people," twice it is "press," and five times it is represented by another new rendering—"company." It has a place in John twenty times, "people" stands for it seventeen times, "multitude" twice, and "company" once. Thus the rendering "multitude," so common in Matthew, falls off in Mark and Luke, and all but disappears in John. It occurs in the other parts of the New Testament twenty-six times, and is rendered eight times "multitude," sixteen times "people," once "company," and once simply "number" in Acts i, 15. Among these renderings, "company" is feeble, and "press" is inferential, taken from the context. But another sense, that of the people as in contrast to the higher ranks, has not been accepted. "Implacable" in Romans i, 31, and not found in the Bishops', becomes something very different,—"trucebreakers" in 2 Timothy iii, 3; the common reader can see no connection between these renderings; the term in Romans, however, has no authority.

Each book has in itself similar variations. Thus, in Matthew, the word rendered "cast into prison" in chapter v, 25, becomes "deliver up" in x, 21, and "betray" in xxvi, 21, the right rendering being indicated in the margin. The substantive translated "hem" in ix, 20, and xiv, 36, is altered into "border" in xxiii, 5. The noun rendered "householder" four times —xiii, 27, 52; xx, 1; xxi, 33—is "goodman of the house" in xx, 11, and xxiv, 43; and there are similar variations in the other gospels. In xx, 20, there was no need for following the old versions, and altering the translation of the same word in the same clause, the right rendering being, "Then came the mother of Zebedee's sons with her sons." The Rheims preserves the uniformity. The phrase "he is a debtor" occurs in chapter xxiii, 16, but the same Greek words are rendered "he is guilty" in verse 18, with "debtor or bound" in the margin, showing that the variation was no inadvertence. Tyndale has "offendeth" in both verses, and he is followed by

the Genevan, which has "debtor" in the margin. Coverdale and the Great Bible read "is giltye" in both places, the Bishops' having "he is a debtor," and the Rheims "he is bound." What but an excessive desire of rhetorical variation could have induced the rendering of the same verb in the same verse by "separate" in the one clause, and "divide" in the following one, Matt. xxv, 32; or in xviii, 33, "compassion" in the one clause, and "pity" in the next; or in xii, 5, "blameless," but "guiltless" in verse 7. The word rendered "streets" in Mark vi, 56, is "market" in vii, 4, and, more correctly, "market-place," in xii, 38.

A special characteristic of the style of St. Mark is obliterated by adopting different translations, for the adverb[1] which occurs nine times in the first chapter, and is rendered "straightway" four times, "forthwith" twice, "immediately" twice, and "anon" once. At least uniform rendering should have been preserved; for though the sense is not altered, a peculiarity of the evangelist's rough and graphic diction is lost to the English reader. The same adverb occurs often through the gospel, "immediately" and "straightway" being the commonest renderings; but we have also for it "as soon as," in v, 36, and xi, 2, while we have "by and bye" in Luke xvii, 7, and xxi, 9—a phrase which has changed its meaning. Many other features of the style of this evangelist cannot be easily reproduced in any version; such as his accumulation of negatives, and his use of diminutives. But other peculiarities, springing out of his vivid and sudden dashes, ought not to be toned down in any translation. If such clauses appear bold and jagged in English, they are equally rough in Greek. The same noun is "*broken* meat" in chapter viii, 8, but "fragments" in verses 19, 20.

The differences in rendering the same simple Greek term are quite amazing. The following examples show that every wrong method has been taken. When it is recorded, in chapter x, 13, that "they brought young children to him," it only confuses the reader to find in the Lord's invitation, "suffer the little children to come," as if two different terms

[1] εὐθύς, εὐθέως.

had been employed, and two juvenile classes were in some way referred to. Our version in this variation follows the Rheims, which deviates here from its usual accuracy, while the Genevan and the Great Bible reverse the change, Tyndale having simply "children," the Bishops' "young children," in both verses; Coverdale having first "children," and then "the children."

In Luke the "inn" in chapter ii, 7, is the "guestchamber" in xxii, 11. Very strangely, the benediction is "blessed *be ye*" in vi, 20, and "blessed *are ye*" in the others; the words in italics in our common Bibles are not in italics in the first edition of 1611. A striking phrase is given thus—"thy faith hath saved thee"[1] in vii, 50, and xviii, 42; but the words are altered into "thy faith hath made thee whole" in viii, 48, and xvii, 19, limiting the result to the mere physical restoration, while the verb may imply that the outer healing was a sacramental symbol of inner change and blessing. "Uppermost seats"[2] in xi, 43, is "highest seats" in xx, 46, and first "chief room" and then "highest room" in xiv, 7, 8. In xix, 13, the lord says to his servants, "occupy till I come," and then he is described in verse 15 as summoning these servants that he might know how much every man had gained by "trading." The word "occupy" once meant to trade, and "occupation" is still used in a similar sense, as in Acts xviii, 3; but "trade," "trading" should have been given in both places, to make the sense intelligible to plain readers.[3] The Bishops' and the Rheims preserve the uniformity "occupy"—"occupying." The second Wycliffite version has "chaffare ye"—"how much ech had wonne by chaffaring." The earlier versions exhibit variety.

In St. John the same term which is rendered "governor of the feast" in chap. ii, 8, is turned into "ruler of the feast" in the very next verse. The variation is in Tyndale, but Coverdale has, in both clauses, "master of the feast," and the Rheims, "chief steward." Nicodemus says, "we know that thou art a teacher come from God," in iii, 2, and Jesus, using the same term, replies to him in verse 10, "art thou

[1] σέσωκέ σε. [2] πρωτοκαθεδρία. [3] See page 251.

a master in Israel?"—the correspondence of the two statements being so far lost by the change of rendering. The same verb is first "tarry" in the request of the Samaritans in iv, 40, and then "abode" in the clause which relates that the request had been granted. The "small fishes" in vi, 9, become simply "fishes" in 11. In vi, 27, 28, the verb which is translated in the one verse "labour for" is in the next verse given as "work," and the connection of Christ's charge, with the question prompted by it, is weakened by the want of uniformity. The Rheims, after Wycliffe, gives "work for" in the first instance, and thus keeps the connection. In xvi, one verb[1] has three translations, "have I spoken" in verse 1; "have I told you" in 4; and "have said" in 6. In the same chapter, verse 30, the verb is translated first, "we are sure," and then in the same breath, "thou knowest," instead of "now we know that thou knowest,"[2] and there need have been no antipathy to the characteristic repetition. The verb is first rendered "put" in one clause, and then "thrust" in the next, in xx, 25, as if the impression had been that "thrust," the true meaning, was not applicable to so small an opening as that made by a nail. The variation began with Tyndale; the Genevan and the Rheims preserve at least uniformity, "put my finger,"—"put my hand."

In the account of the institution of the "seven almoners" in Acts vi, "ministration" occurs in verse 1, "serve" in verse 2, and "ministry" in verse 4, for the same term, verb and noun, when one rendering might have sufficed.[3] We have, when the term means to wait at table, such variations as "she ministered unto them," Mark i, 31, "hath left me to serve alone," "cumbered with much serving," Luke x, 40. "Serve" again is used in Luke xii, 37, xxii, 26, and throughout the Gospel of John. The noun becomes "relief" in Acts xi, 29, and is correct in sense, though it is an interpretation.

In Acts xvii, delicate points in the apostle's address are lost by gratuitous change of English words. Some of the Athenians called him a "setter forth of strange gods," and in

[1] λελάληκα. [2] οἴδαμεν ὅτι οἶδας. [3] διακονία, διακονεῖν.

his reply he takes up the same term, and says, "Him set I forth unto you," but our version, by giving "declare I unto you," quite obscures the connection. The play upon two words (18) is thus lost by a deflected rendering, the one being given as a "setter forth," and the other "because he preached." The translators might have tried to preserve the likeness of the same verb compounded with two different prepositions, the one presenting the Athenian point of view, and the other that of the historian. Again, he says, "I found an altar with this inscription, To the Unknown God," and adopting the strange epithet "unknown," he proceeds, "Him," or "what unknowing ye worship, set I forth unto you." The reader misses the link through the translation of the participle by the adverb "ignorantly." The variation was found in the older translators, the Rheims again excepted. The verb rendered so vividly, "turned the world upside down," in xvii, 6, sinks into "madest an uproar" in xxi, 38. In the same chapter, the famous spot is called first "Areopagus" in verse 19, and "Mars hill" in verse 21, but an explanation is given in the margin. In xxvi, 24, 25, the directness of the apostle's reply is unfelt, because of a tasteless variation. "Paul, thou art beside thyself," should have been followed by, "I am not beside myself, most noble Festus," or, "Paul, thou art mad," "I am not mad"—the apostle takes up the taunt, and repeats it in his retort. The variation is found in the earlier versions, the Rheims again is to be praised as an exception. The epithet rendered "most excellent" in Luke i, 3, and in Acts xxiii, 26, becomes "most noble" in xxiv, 3, as also in xxvi, 25. In xxviii, 15, a proper name is untranslated, "Appii Forum," but in the next clause another proper name is given as "the Three Taverns."

In Romans ii, 2, 3, "commit" and "do" represent the same verb, the variation being found in Tyndale. In v, 2, 3, 11, occur in succession, the words "rejoice," "glory," "joy," all standing for the same term,[1] the second rendering alone being the correct one, and by the change the exultant style is veiled from the English Protestant reader, the Rheims keeping the uniform translation. Uniformity of rendering is essential to the

[1] καυχώμεθα.

full appreciation of an argument; vii, 7, "I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet," it being the same Greek term in both clauses, and there being a special point in the repetition. The older versions keep "lust" in both clauses, Tyndale, followed by the Great Bible, giving, in the first clause, "I had not knowne what lust had meant," and Coverdale, "I had knowne nothinge of lust." The Bishops' follows the Genevan,—"for I had not knowen lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust." The variation was brought in by the Rheims through its love of the Latin term concupiscence, which had no correspondent verb in English,—"for concupiscence I knew not, unless the law did say, Thou shalt not covet." The Authorized Version so far followed the Rheims, and places concupiscence in the margin. The noun might be rendered "coveting,"[1] as "lust" has now a restricted signification. In a quotation in x, 19, the same noun is given as "people" in the one clause and "nation" in the other. In xi, 22, the same preposition with the very same reference is rendered in the one clause "on"—"on them"—and in the other "toward"—"toward thee." The connection between the quotation and the prayer in xv, 12, 13, is wholly obscured by translating the verb "trust" in the first instance and its noun "hope" in the second.[2] It should have been "in Him shall the Gentiles hope,"—"Now the God of hope." What good purpose could be served by rendering the same noun "comfort" in xv, 4, and "consolation" in verse 5. Tyndale introduced the variation; and the Rheims reverses the order, giving "consolation" in the first clause and "comfort" in the second. In 1 Cor. iii, 17, the reader misses entirely the retaliatory nature of the doom predicted, on account of the capricious change in the translation of the same verb—"If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy."[3] We cannot understand why such a change should have been made in words so solemn and pointed. As the man does to the temple, so God does to him, the sin not only entailing the penalty, but moulding its form. The Genevan has "destroy" in both clauses, but our version follows the Bishops', which copies the

[1] ἐπιθυμία. [2] ἐλπιοῦσιν, ἐλπίδος. [3] φθείρει, φθερεῖ.

earlier translators. Whatever rendering is adopted in the first ought to be repeated in the second clause. Even the Rheims fails here, "But if any man violate the temple of God, God will destroy him." In x, 16, the theme is the utter incongruity between fellowship in the eucharist and in the heathen feasts, but the noun rendered in that verse "communion" of the blood of Christ—"communion" of the body of Christ, becomes in verse 18, in its personal form, "partakers" of the altar, and then, in verse 20, "have fellowship with"; while another word is rightly rendered "partakers" in verses 17, 21.[1] In xi, 29, the noun is wrongly rendered "damnation,"[2] and then as wrongly "condemnation" in verse 34, "judgment," the right translation, in both cases, being given in the margin. The last word of the clause "then shall I know, even as also I am known," xiii, 12, is rendered more correctly in 2 Cor. vi, 9, as "unknown" and "yet well known." We have in xv, 24-28, the wondrous revelation of the final issue and change of the mediatorial kingdom, with a glimpse of what may be called Christian pantheism as the ultimate result that "God may be all in all." But in these verses, where uniformity of rendering is so essential to a correct understanding of the course of thought, the verb rendered "put down"[3] in verse 24 is translated "destroyed" in verse 26, the same action being described in both verses, while in verses 27, 28, another verb[4] is used no less than six times, but the English reader is kept in ignorance of the emphatic repetition, for it is rendered "put under" three times in verse 27, but in verse 28 it becomes "be subdued," "be subject,"—"put under." If the apostle selected the term and deemed it necessary to repeat it as fitting in to his thought, and did not introduce any variation, why should any version court variety? Repetition of the word cannot be worse in English than it is in Greek written by an inspired apostle who did not spend time in verbal elaboration or polish. Though there was no risk of misunderstanding the matter, yet there was no gain in rendering the same noun by "collection" in xvi, 1, and by "gathering" in the following

[1] κοινωνοί, μετέχω.
[2] κρῖμα.
[3] καταργέω.
[4] ὑποτάσσω.

verse, the reverse of Coverdale's order, the Rheims having the Latin term in both clauses. Our version simply followed the Bishops', the older version giving "gathering"—"gatherings."

The apostle sometimes carries through a long paragraph some leading term which gives life and colouring to it. The word appears and reappears, like a golden thread in a woven tissue. It is used and used again in his glowing rapidity of utterance, taken up again and again at every fresh turn. So long as the train of thought is unexhausted, this characteristic word is kept hold of, as if the repetition gave strength to the argument which no mere pronominal reference could supply. Thus it is in the thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle in a marked form; the rhythm is sustained while a new note is struck by the repetition of the noun. So it is also with the word "wisdom," which runs through the first chapter of the first epistle, and is ever cropping into view, and so it is often in the second epistle, as in the beginning of the second chapter, where "comfort" is the predominant idea, mentioned and mentioned again as bearing on himself under peculiar and unwonted weaknesses and sorrows.

In 2 Cor. i, 3, 4, uniformity of rendering is well preserved and the Pauline style is at once recognized, but the effect is soon marred, for "comfort" becomes "consolation" in verse 5, twice in verse 6, and once in verse 7, while the word rendered "tribulation" in verse 4 is "trouble" in verse 8. It may be added, that the translators followed no fixed principle in the renderings, "affliction" and "tribulations," for "tribulation," occurs only in Romans and in the Apocalypse. Though "comfort" is rightly kept four times in verse 4, "tribulation" is wrongly changed into "trouble," another Greek word being employed in verse 7, which is rightly rendered "sufferings." In the beginning of the second chapter "sorrow" is uppermost; one term occurs seven times, the result of intense emotion which does not shrink from disclosing itself by such a monotone of utterance; but the apostle's characteristic style is so far hidden, for the term occurring seven times is represented by "heaviness," "sorry," "sorrow," "grieved,"

"caused grief," "grieved," the two last being a translation of the same tense of the verb in two consecutive clauses. The word rendered "heaviness" in the first verse is "sorrow" in the third verse and all through the Epistle. In ii, 16, the apostle exclaims, under an awful sense of responsibility, "Who is sufficient for these things," and then, after a short digression, the answer is given in iii, 5, "our sufficiency is of God," but the unity of thought is distorted when, in the next clause, the cognate verb is rendered "who hath made us able ministers." Tyndale has "who is mete unto these things?" . . . . "our ableness cometh from God, which hath made us able to minister." The same rendering of the prominent terms should be kept: "our sufficiency"—"who hath made us sufficient as ministers." Our version has followed the Genevan throughout.

2 Cor. i, 11, is pervaded by the idea of ministration, and the version is so far uniform; but in verse 12, the privilege of free and bold speech is introduced as a distinctive glory of the apostolate in contrast with Moses and his economy, and then the term "veil" dominates the next paragraph. "The veil on his face," "the veil untaken away" in the reading of the Old Testament; "the veil upon their hearts," "the veil shall be taken away," and then in the last verse comes the practical application of this imagery; the point and beauty of which are lost by a change of rendering—"we all with open face," instead of "we all with unveiled face." After he had spoken to the people Moses veiled his face,[1] a symbol of the dim and transitory nature of the typical economy, but the apostles appear ever with unveiled face. The contrast of the apostles to the veiled prophet is obscured by the rendering "open face." The idea reappears in the third verse of the next chapter, but its connection with the previous illustration is lost again by the change of rendering, for the clause should be "if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled," &c.; the "hid" in the second verse is the right translation of a different term. In v, 6, there is a remarkable contrast stated in these terms, "absent

[1] The meaning of Exodus xxxiv, 33, is perverted by the word "till" printed in italics.

from the body "—"present with the Lord," and in verse 8, the terms are repeated, "present or absent," but the rendering in the intermediate verse 6 is "at home in the body," and the English reader may not perceive that the words "at home" are represented by the word which is twice given as "present." A uniform translation should have been kept throughout, even though it would be difficult to do it. Variations are also found in the older versions. The thought that fills the apostle's mind in verses 9, 10, 11, of the same chapter, is that of manifestation, "made manifest unto you"—"made manifest in your consciences," but the same verb gets a different rendering in verse 10, and the connection is darkened. The right translation, to be in harmony with verse 11, should be, "we must all be made manifest[1] before the judgment seat of Christ." The verb is so translated in the majority of instances. It is used of our Lord and his saved ones in Col. iii, 4, and it occurs again and again in this epistle, "open disclosure," noted and visible exhibition, without the veil or shadow which belongs to hidden things. In vi, 18, the point, though not the sense of the pronoun, is lost by a needless change in the rendering of the preposition, as if it were a possessive pronoun, "I will be a Father unto you," and the next clause should have been "and ye shall be sons and daughters unto me," as both clauses present the same relationship. In viii, 10, 11, the same infinitive which is translated "to be forward" in the first verse, is "to will" in the second; and the noun which is translated "readiness" in verse 11, is rendered "a willing mind" in verse 12. These variations occur also in the older versions with the exception of the Rheims. In x, 13, 15, 16, the same noun in a compact paragraph is twice rendered "rule"[2] and then "line of things." The other versions, as may be expected, vary also; Tyndale and the Bishops' have "rule" in the three cases, the Genevan has "line" in the last instance, "another man's line," "that is in the things that are prepared already," and this probably influenced King James's revisers. In xii, 2, 3, the same verb is translated "knew"[3] and then "tell," and the process being

[1] φανερόω. [2] κανών.

[3] οἶδα, which means "I know." Veitch's Greek Verbs, p. 192.

immediately reversed, it is next rendered first "tell," and then "knoweth." In the same chapter, verse 9, the Lord's answer is "my strength is made perfect in weakness." The apostle at once snatches up and re-echoes the Lord's last assuring words, "most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the strength of Christ may rest upon me," but the connection and correspondence are masked in the English version, for "strength" is changed into "power," and "weaknesses" into "infirmities." Our translators followed the Bishops'; Tyndale, Coverdale, and the Great Bible preserve the uniformity.

In Gal. iii, 22, 23, the same Greek term is rendered "concluded" in the one verse and "shut up" in the other; the change from Latin to Saxon was gratuitous, and the literal or Latin sense of the Greek term is not in common use. Among the older versionists Coverdale preserves uniformity

In Phil. ii, 13, the participle rendered "that worketh" in one clause, has, in the other clause, its verb in the infinitive rendered "to do"—the response of man's co-operation to God's operation is in this way weakened—while a different verb is rendered "work" in the last clause of the previous verse. In iii, 6, the preposition given as "concerning" in the first clause becomes "touching" in the second; and while the noun is "gain" in verse 7, the verb is rendered "win" in verse 8.

In 1 Thess. i, the noun rendered "mention" in the first verse becomes "remembrance" in the second, and in iii, 6. The first rendering occurs four times, and the second three times, in the Epistles of Paul. The same verb is rendered "came" and then "were" in verse 5 of the first chapter, "became" in the following verse, and "were" again in verse 7.

In 2 Thess. ii, 6, 7, the neuter participle is given in the one verse as "what withholdeth," and the masculine participle as "he who letteth" in the next verse. "Letteth" came in with Coverdale and the Great Bible of 1539.

In Heb. i, 1, the same term in composition is first "sundry" and then "divers," the correct sense being "many"—"in many parts and many ways"—a vivid description of the origin and

structure of the Old Testament. The reading of the Authorized Version is that of the Genevan followed by the Bishops'. The last clause of iii, 11, is rendered "they shall not enter into my rest," and the reader is perplexed by the rendering of the same clause twice in iv, 3, 5, by these terms, "if they shall enter into my rest," and is apt to imagine there is some difference in the Greek. The rendering, "if they shall enter,"[1] is a literal translation of the Greek, which imitates the form of the original threatening in Num, xiv, 23, 30, repeated in Psalm xcv. The idiom, as an intense negation, is a form of solemn Hebrew oath, and needed not to have been followed in one place and abandoned in the other places. Tyndale does not use the conditional form, nor Coverdale, nor the Great Bible. In Num. xiv, 23, the Authorized Version has "surely they shall not see," and in Psalm xcv, 11, "that they should not enter." The Genevan introduced the literal and unidiomatic imitation, "if they shall enter." The Bishops' followed, and the Rheims reproduced the Latin. The verb rendered "he hath made old" in the first clause of viii, 13, has its participle translated in the next clause "decayeth," dimming to the reader the connection between statement and inference. The word which in Acts is twice rendered "prince" is translated "captain" in ii, 10, and "author" in xii, 2.

No mere English reader could suppose that in James ii, 2, 3, "goodly apparel" and "gay clothing" represented the same Greek phrase, which is also rendered "bright clothing" in Acts x, 30, where, indeed, as it is the glittering robe of an angel that is described, neither "gay" nor "goodly" would have been a suitable epithet. The Authorized Version, in these places, only followed the example of its predecessors, the Rheims excepted.

The phrase in 1 Peter i, 7, "at the appearing of Jesus Christ" passes into a truer version in verse 13, "at the revelation of Jesus Christ."

In 2 Pet. ii, 1, the genitive noun which appears in the epithet "damnable" in the first clause,[2] reappears in the

[1] εἰ εἰσελευσονται. [2] ἀπωλείας.

accusative in the last clause as "destruction," and again, in verse 3 as "damnation," the idea of retaliatory penalty being lost in the alteration. Our translators themselves seem to have introduced the variation; the Protestant versions have "damnable," "damnation," and the Rheims has "perdition" in both places. According to the text which our translators preferred, the word again occurs in the first clause of the second verse, and they vary the rendering by using "pernicious," but add, in the margin, "lascivious ways, as some copies read."

In 1 John ii, 20, the noun translated "unction" becomes "anointing" twice in verse 27. "Unction" was taken from the Rheims,—Wycliffe has "anoyntynge" in both places. In v, 9, the verb has one rendering and its noun another no less than three times, so that the idiomatic connection is destroyed. The clause might have been, "the witness of God which he hath witnessed concerning his Son."

In Rev. i, 15, the noun used twice in the same clause has two renderings—it should be "his voice as the voice of many waters." In iii, 17, the adjective rendered "rich" has its verb translated "increased with goods" in the next clause. In iv, 4, the same noun in the very same clause is rendered "throne" and then "seats"—"round about the throne were four-and-twenty seats." The change obscures the similarity of honour on the part of the redeemed to that of the Redeemer, according to his own promise in Matt. xix, 28, "when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones." The change of "throne" into "seats," as if the honour were too godlike, was brought in by the Genevan, and followed by the Bishops'; Tyndale, Coverdale, the Great Bible, and the Genevan Testament of 1557 having "seat"—"seats," the Rheims having a strange variation, the reverse of the Authorized, "and round about the seate four-and-twentie seates, and upon the thrones four-and-twentie seniors sitting," following their Vulgate, the reading also of the Codex Amiatinus. Modern editions of the Rheims have been conformed to the Authorized, with "ancients" also for "elders." In xiii, 13, 14, the same noun

is rendered "wonders" and then "miracles," both being mistranslations of a term which really denotes "signs." The term is inconsistently rendered "sign" in xv, i, "I saw another sign in heaven," that is, an additional sign, but to any previous sign the Authorized Version gives no clue. Two signs are indeed spoken of in xii, 1, 3, but in both the places the translation is "wonder," and therefore the reference in xv, 1, is really lost. In xviii, 2, in the one clause a noun is translated "hold," and in the next clause "cage," as if to bring it into harmony with "bird"; and there is an unwarranted variation in the use of the article, "the hold," "a cage," the words being both indefinite in the original.

CHAPTER LIII.

ON the other hand, one English term represents several Greek words, and many important distinctions sink out of view. But it is at once to be conceded, that the English language has not such a wealth of vocables as to supply a distinct term for every Greek noun or verb. We are therefore forced to use the same translation for different words in the original.

Thus three Greek substantives are represented by the one rendering "net," meaning different shapes of the implement, and the distinction could only be brought out by the addition of some epithet.[1] "care," "careth,"[2] 1 Pet. v, 7, stands for two Greek words; Matt. xiii, 17, "see" is the translation of two verbs;[3] "reap" stands for two verbs in James v, 4,[4] and "know" for two verbs in Acts xix, 15.[5] "Servant" represents seven Greek nouns, which, though distinguishable in meaning, have not each a distinct English equivalent. In Luke xvi, 2, 3, the same verb is rendered "said," in verse 5 another verb is rendered "said";[6] the first verb occurs twice in verse 6, and twice in verse 7, along with that used in verse 5. Sometimes, however, a distinction is made, and in this case it could not be avoided, Acts xxvi, 14, "a voice speaking unto me, saying." The same English pronoun represents two different Greek ones in 1 John iii, 3, "this hope in *him*,"[7] and "as *he* is pure"; and it would

[1] *δίκτυον, ἀμφίβληστρον, σαγήνη.*

[2] *μεριμνάω, μέλει.*

[3] *ἰδεῖν, βλέπετε.*

[4] *ἀμησάντων, θερισάντων.*

[5] *γινώσκω, ἐπίσταμαι.*

[6] *εἶπεν, λάλει.*

[7] *αὐτός, ἐκεῖνος*, the last pronoun of constant occurrence in the writings of St. John.

be very difficult to preserve the distinction in English. Two words are rendered "purse,"[1] the one being a bag, Luke x, 4, the other the girdle, in the folds of which was the pouch, Matt. x, 9. "Received" stands for two Greek verbs in the same verse, 1 Thess. ii, 13, but the second might be rendered "accepted." "Money"[2] represents five Greek nouns, but the distinction could not be easily kept in all cases,—silver money, bronze money, small coin or change, money sanctioned or current money applied to the tribute, and money in the sense of "the useful." "Tribute" represents three nouns, but one might be given literally as half-shekel, Matt. xvii, 24, 27, the tax paid for the support of the temple, the piece of money found in the mouth of the fish, being a stater, sufficing therefore for both Peter and his Master. It is impossible to find any other than the one word for the heathen altar in Acts xvii, 23, and for the Jewish altar so often referred to. We have no word but "basket" to represent, first, one term employed in the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand, and, second, another term employed in the miracle of feeding the four thousand, Matt. xiv, 20, xv, 37.[3] The first term is a smaller vessel, like that which the people in Palestine still carry with them, and the second is a larger vessel. Nay, the two terms are put in contrast in Matt. xvi, 9, 10, and in Mark viii, 19, 20, in two successive clauses of the same interrogation, and "basket" does service for both. The second was like a "hamper" or "pannier" which meant originally "bread-basket," "panarium," and we have in the Bishops' Bible, Job xxxix, 31, "canst thou fill the basket with his skinne? or the fish pannier with his head?" in our version with a very different rendering, Job xli, 7. The earlier versions do not attempt a distinction, but the Rheims has "maundes" for the second word, a term yet preserved in Maundy Thursday. A third noun, rendered "basket" in 2 Cor. xi, 33, means a receptacle formed of ropes.

"Brightness"[4] represents three Greek nouns, the first of

[1] *βαλάντιον, ζώνη.*

[2] *ἀργύριον, χαλκός, κέρμα, νόμισμα, χρῆμα.*

[3] *κόφινος, σπυρίς.*

[4] *ἀπαύγασμα, λαμπρότης, ἐπιφάνεια.*

which is brightness rayed or flashed out—effulgence not reflection, Heb. i, 3; the second is the brightness which shines as of the sun, Acts xxvi, 13; and the third is a mistranslation of a word which denotes only appearance, 2 Thess. ii, 8.

"Crown"[1] stands for two substantives quite different in character; the one in its English form is the diadem occurring three times in Revelation. Thus in xix, 12, where it is the imperial diadem—"on his head are many diadems," that is, on the head of the royal Conqueror, King of kings, and Lord of lords. The great Red Dragon, the hieroglyph of the Prince of Evil, has on his seven heads "seven diadems," and the portentous organism coming out of the sea, which he inspires, has also seven diadems, for it represents imperial Rome. The other term, occurring eighteen times, is the crown or chaplet, won and worn by the victor; the crown of righteousness, of glory, of life; and that of gold which the saints cast at the feet of Him that sits on the throne.

"People" represents four terms of distinct signification,[2] not to be confounded, while it has also the general sense of populace, or the public, and often as distinct from the rulers. The first is often applied to the Jewish people as opposed to the Gentiles, Matt. ii, 6; Luke ii, 10, 32; Acts xxvi, 23; the second is the enfranchised people in their civil capacity, or as a regular assembly—assembled in the forum, Acts xvii, 5; xix, 30; the third, while it has also a general meaning of people or inhabitants, signifies often, and specially, the Gentiles, Luke ii, 32; Matt. iv, 15; x, 5; but the noun, which is properly "multitude," might always preserve its true signification.

"Godhead," in Romans i, 20, Acts xvii, 29, and Colossians ii, 9, represents three Greek words—that in Romans being different from that found in Acts and Colossians.[3] The first term, according to its origin, refers to quality, not to essence; it is divineness, *divinitas;* proved from possession of certain attributes—such as eternity and omnipotence. But the second term, according to its origin, refers to essence—*deitas,* absolute

[1] διάδημα, στέφανος. [2] λαός, δῆμος, ἔθνος, ὄχλος.
[3] θειότης, τὸ θεῖον, θεότης.

and personal. This Godhead dwells in Christ, not fractionally, but in its fulness. This Divine Essence cannot be imaged out in metal or in marble. Spirituality is lost in the attempt to make it palpable to sense.

"True" represents two adjectives quite different in meaning, and for which we have not separate English equivalents. The one is "true" in the ordinary sense of the epithet, as in John iii, 33;[1] viii, 17; Romans iii, 4—true in contrast to what is false; God is true, he cannot lie. But the other term is rather "genuine" or "real," John iv, 37—all it or he professes to be—the substantial, as opposed to the shadowy, as in Hebrews viii, 2; ix, 24; 1 Thess. i, 9, "to serve the living and true God"—true is opposed to idols or fictitious divinities, "very God." Archbishop Trench refers to the "very" of the Wycliffite version, but he might have referred to a more recent date, within half a century of the present version, as the Genevan of 1560 has in John xvii, 3, "that they might know thee to be the onely verie God," in 1 John v, 20, "this same is verie God and eternal life." Nay, the word is found several times in the present version, though it does not stand for this Greek adjective—"Genesis xxvii, 21, "my very son Esau"; Proverbs xvii, 9, "separateth very friends"; and similarly in John vii, 26, and Acts ix, 22.

"Temple" represents three words, which might, however, be distinguished in a translation.[2] The first is in Luke xi, 51, where the word is "house"—"which perished between the altar and the house," the altar being in the open fore court, and the house meaning the sacred edifice itself, rendered "temple," as in all the older versions; Wycliffe, however, has "house." The second term signifies the building itself, the sanctuary, or the dwelling-place of God. Thus in Matt. xxiii, 35, "between the temple—that is, the sanctuary—and the altar," but the altar itself was in the temple, in its larger sense; Mark xv, 38, "the vail of the sanctuary," which was the partition between the holy and the most holy place. The third word signifies the whole cluster of buildings—the precincts, house, portico, cloisters, and rooms of all sorts—all that was within

[1] ἀληθής, ἀληθινός. [2] τοῦ οἴκου, ναός, ἱερόν.

the holy enclosure—Matt. iv, 5, "pinnacle of the temple"; xxi, 14, "the lame came to him in the temple"; John ii, 14, 15, "found in the temple them that sold oxen," and "drove them all out of the temple"; Mark xi, 27, "as he was walking in the temple." These expressions cannot refer to the sanctuary properly so called, into which the priests alone could enter, so that the three terms need not be identified in any English translation.

"Life" represents two Greek terms,[1] which have distinctive senses; the one is physical life as opposed to death, and sometimes the divine life—eternal life—the life of God; but it is once rendered "lifetime" in Luke xvi, 25: the other noun rendered "life" meaning course of life, or duration; "*this* life," Luke viii, 14; "*our* life," 1 Peter iv, 3. It is also given as "living"—that is, means of life, Matt. xii, 44; Luke viii, 43; xv, 12, 30, and it is translated "good"—"this world's good," 1 John iii, 17, after all the older versions, and the *substantia* of the Vulgate.

It is to be regretted that some distinction was not made between the neuter in the first clause and the masculine in the last clause of John i, 11—"He came to his own, and his own received him not"—the first his own possessions, or home, and the second his own people.

The touching paragraph in John xxi, 15-17, loses, in our version, no little of its tenderness. The word in Christ's first two questions rendered "love" is not that used in Peter's three replies, though it is also rendered "love." The verb used by Jesus is the one which is uniformly employed to describe man's love to God, and has in it the idea of awe and devout reverence, which its object must inspire from His unapproachable majesty. Jesus says by this verb "Lovest thou me?"[2] Peter feels that the Master is near him, that he has forgiven him the denial, that he has restored him to his old and happy position, and that his affection for him is therefore not only very fervent, but is the love of a human heart to a living person, and he answers, "I love thee."[3] The

[1] ζωή, βίος. [2] ἀγαπᾷς με. [3] φιλῶ σε.

question and response are repeated, but the third time Jesus in gracious condescension uses Peter's own term, and he replies at once, "Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." And there is another change unmarked in our version: the charge is, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep." But "feed" in the second charge translates a different term from that found in the first and third charge,[1] and it denotes more than feeding—the exercise of other parts of the shepherd's work, folding as well as feeding, protection as well as guidance to the green pastures and still waters.

"New" represents two different adjectives, and the identity cannot well be helped. The terms are interchanged both being applied to "wine," "covenant," and "man." But the one[2] has the idea of time in it—thus, a "new man" is one who has just been spiritually changed, his spiritual birth recently past. The second has the additional element of quality in relation to his former life, when the "old man" reigned within him. And so with "wine," it may be new compared with last year's vintage, or new as compared with itself after time has mellowed it, Matt. ix, 17. So the covenant may be new in the age of it, as Hebrews xii, 24, or new in the character of it, compared with the worn-out dispensation which preceded it,[3] Hebrews ix, 15. But the adjective rendered "new" in Matt. ix, 16, is really "undressed,"[4] and might be so rendered. "Raw, or undressed" is in the margin, after the margin of the Genevan, and a distinction might be kept in the following clause—"they put new wine into fresh skins."

"Light" represents no less than six different terms. The first of these[5] is rightly so translated, and it occurs very often, as may be expected in a revelation which is a light from Him who is light. The second term,[6] occurring three times, is also of necessity rendered "light," though it means secondary light of the moon, or a lamp, Matt. xxiv, 29; Mark xiii, 24; Luke xi, 33. The third term,[7] used fourteen times, and eight times

[1] ποίμαινε. [2] νέος. [3] καινός. [4] ἄγναφος.
[5] φῶς. [6] φέγγος. [7] λύχνος.

rendered "candle," and six times "light," should rather be "lamp"—"the lamp of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light." The fourth term[1] is "lamp," or "torch," rendered "lights" in Acts xx, 8, seven times "lamp," and once "torches." The fifth term[2] is properly "luminary"—"light-giver," as in Philippians ii, 15, and Rev. xxi, 11. Compare Genesis i, 14-16. The phrase "her light" in the last passage is, as has been remarked, very ambiguous. It might mean the light shed by the city, whereas it is what the light shed upon it. Another noun,[3] translated "light," certainly, as its form implies, means "enlightenment" —2 Cor. iv. 4, "the enlightenment of the gospel of the glory of God"; "the enlightenment of the glory of God," 6. In these cases the enlightenment is not knowledge possessed by the apostles themselves, but the effect of instruction given by them to others.

The following monosyllabic particles simply, or in composition, have a wide representative sweep, often vague and miscellaneous, and often giving the sense in spite of the variations. Thus "at" represents 11 Greek particles, "of" 13, "in" 14, "on" 9, "by" 11, "with" 13, "for" 13, "about" 5, "after" 6, "upon" 7, "from" 6, "above" 5, "over" 8, "against" 10, "into" 6, "among" 11, "toward" 6, "through" 6, "till" 7. "Afterwards" represents 6 Greek adverbs or conjunctions, "and" 9 Greek terms, "always" 8, "nevertheless" 5, "though" 8, "so" 10, "also" 6, "but" 12, "yet" 10, "wherefore" 12, "while" 8, "therefore" 13, "save" 5, "because" 9. "For" represents 5 Greek conjunctions, "as" 20 Greek terms closely allied to each other, "even" represents 6 Greek particles, and "even as" the same number.

Some of the common verbs do service for a great variety of Greek terms. Thus, apart from several idiomatic uses, such as "come down," "come nigh," "come by," &c., "come" serves for 32 different Greek terms, but in this way the sense is often obscured; "depart" for 21 terms, several of them compounds of the same verb. Apart from similar idiomatic uses, such as

[1] λαμπάς, [2] φωστήρ. [3] φωτισμός.

"give audience," "give heed," &c., give represents 14 Greek verbs, six of them allied to one another, but as many having no connection. "Make" represents 13 Greek verbs, and is over 70 times employed as auxiliary to nouns and other verbs, as "make ashamed," "make war," "make merry," "make melody," "make whole," "make ado," "make mad," &c. "Receive" represents 17 Greek verbs, and is used in other ways, "to receive damage," "law," "seed," and as auxiliary of other verbs. "Go" stands for 16 Greek verbs, apart from its employment in such phrases as "go abroad," "go astray"; "go out" representing 5 verbs, "go up" 4, and "go about" 6. "Abide" represents 10 Greek verbs. "Speak" stands for 8 Greek verbs, apart from such uses as in the phrases "speak out," "speak with," "speak against," which does service for 2 verbs, "speak before" for 2, and "speak evil" for 3. "Stand" represents 7 Greek verbs, several of which are connected in origin, besides other forms, such as "stand in doubt," "stand round about," &c. "Leave" represents 9 Greek verbs, 4 of which are of common origin. "Take" represents 21 Greek verbs, besides being found in such phrases as "take care," "take counsel," "take thought," &c.; "take heed" represents 2 verbs, "take away" 1 verb with 5 compounds, "take up" represents 8, and "understand" 9. "Show" represents 20 verbs, and is in many cases an inappropriate rendering, the various meanings and shades of meaning being wholly neglected. "Lay" stands for 8 Greek verbs, besides being used in such phrases as "lay aside," "lay down," "lay on," "lay even with the ground," "lay up," which represents 3 different verbs, and "lay wait." "Kill" represents 6 different Greek verbs, which are also rendered by "slay." "Keep" represents 12 Greek verbs, besides being used in such phrases as "keep the feast," "keep back," "keep silence," "keep close," "keep company." "Behold" represents 12 Greek verbs, "break" 9, "call" 12, "carry" 7, "catch" 9, "change" 8, "continue" 13, besides such renderings as "continue in," and "instant in" or "with," "command" stands for 8, "declare" 14, "deliver" 11, "consider" 11, "bring" 13, "bring forth" 15, apart from such renderings of other verbs as "bring again," "bring down," "bring low," "out," "safe," "together," "up," and "upon," &c.

"Appoint" represents 10 Greek verbs, several of which are of common origin.

"Stranger" represents five words, having the same general meaning, with specific shades of signification.

Of the four words rendered "punishment," the first is satisfaction as a matter of right and justice, 1 Peter ii, 14; the second is infliction of penalty, Matt. xxv, 46; the third is originally damages assessed upon a citizen, 2 Cor. ii, 6; and the last is castigation, Hebrews x, 29. "Serve" stands for four verbs, of which one signifies specially divine service;[1] "service" stands for three nouns, two of which belong to the verb just referred to, and the other is often used with a hallowed limitation.[2] In James i, 17, "gift" [3] represents two Greek nouns generically the same,—the Genevan has for the first word "every good giving."

This translation of several Greek terms by the one English term does not characterize nouns to the same extent. But "child" represents 6 terms, "judgment" 8, "mind" 7, "destruction" 4, "disease" 4, "world" 4, "offence" 4, "power" 6, "raiment" 5, "robe" 4, "tempest" 4, "work" 5, "end" 5, "light" 6, "lust" 4, "man" 4, apart from such phrases as "a man," "no man," "any man," "every man," "a certain man," &c., "country" 5, "craft" 4, and "garment" 4. The following represents each three Greek nouns, "dearth," "conversation," "damsel," "gain," "curse," "flood," "fruit," "fellow," "minister," "slaughter," and "wave." Two Greek nouns are both rendered "unbelief," the first of them uniformly and correctly, and the second of them is three times rendered, as it ought to be, "disobedience," but as often "unbelief." "Then," [4] in John xi, 12, 14, represents two different Greek adverbs, the one temporal and the other logical. There are four words rendered "likewise," and the meaning is well given "in like manner." The adverb which occurs so often, is used only in this sense in the New Testament, but as in modern English it simply means "also," its scriptural meaning is often overlooked. In this case

[1] λειτουργέω.
[2] λατρεία.
[3] δόσις, δώρημα.
[4] οὖν, so common in St. John, might be, in very many cases, distinguished from τότε, in translation.

a fuller form of translation might now be given, especially in all places where "also" and "likewise" are found in the same verse, as Heb. ii, 14, "as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same,"—not only "also" but "likewise"—in the very same way.

Of the words rendered "child," one is "babe"[1] and is four times so rendered, once "young children," once "child" in 2 Tim. iii, 15, in reference to Timothy, and in Acts it refers to the Hebrew babes cast into the Nile. The diminutive "little child"[2] is often so rendered, but it is simply "children" in the account of the two miraculous banquets, and it becomes "damsel" in Mark v, 41, the epithet applied to the daughter of Jairus. A third term is rightly rendered "babe"[3] in the Gospels, but is also rendered "child" seven times, the word having also a figurative signification, as in Matt. xi, 25, xxi, 16, 1 Cor. iii, 1. A fourth term is uniformly rendered "little children";[4] and a fifth, "child,"[5] "children," used more than ninety times, is sometimes translated "son," as in Luke xv, 31, xvi, 25, and is applied to Timothy, though it might be translated "child" in most of the places, as in 1 Cor. iv, 14, "my beloved children," and in verse 17, "Timotheus, who is my beloved child." In fact, our version sometimes renders the term which ought to be "sons" by "children," and sometimes that which ought to be "children" by "sons," and thus obliterates an important distinction between John and Paul, the former only using "child" as applied to believers, and the latter "sons." The two last words are identified in 1 Cor. xiv, 20, and the point is lost in our version, "Be not children in understanding, howbeit in malice be ye children," whereas the sense is "howbeit in malice be ye babes." The Authorized Version has very properly "children" in the margin of 1 Peter iii, 6, where it has in the text "daughters," the true rendering being "Sarah, of whom ye became children." The English translation suggests the wrong idea, that by imitating Sarah's example they would earn the title of Sarah's daughters. The translation of another

[1] *βρέφος.* [2] *παιδίον.* [3] *νήπιος.*
[4] *τεκνίον.* [5] *τέκνον.*

term varies between "child" and "servant," it being once "menservants," three times "son," once "young man," and twice "maiden," "maid." The term certainly means children, male and female, in all the ages of childhood, and as certainly it means sometimes also "servants," our word "boy" having a similar ambiguity. The higher sense of service also belongs to it, as applied twice to David in Luke i, 69, and Acts iv, 25; to Israel in Luke i, 54, to the predicted Messiah in Matt. xii, 18, and to Jesus in Acts iii, 13, 26; and in those last places it should be rendered "servant,"[1] the reference being to the Messianic or official character. The epithet is never used of the apostles. "Son" might be preserved even where it is now rendered "child," as in the Hebrew idiom "sons of the bride-chamber," "sons of the kingdom," "Zebedee's sons," for we have "Peter and the two sons of Zebedee," "sons of this world"; but "children of Israel" is a phrase too familiar to be easily changed.

Two words are rendered "immortality,"[2] but one is properly "incorruptness" or "incorruptibility," in Romans ii, 7, and 2 Tim. i, 10.

"Sickness" represents three terms, which all signify indisposition or chronic debility. One is actual ailment and is often rendered "diseases," a second is rendered "sickness," and a third may mean the weakness caused by sickness, as in Luke vii, 10, and it is often rendered "infirmity." Its adjective is an epithet applied to conscience, and could not well be rendered "sick," 1 Cor. viii, 7, and to a brother possessed of slender knowledge and feeble self-regulative power, verse 11.

The very unfortunate translation of "beasts"[3] in the Apocalypse has often been noticed. These "living" ones were composite or cherubic creatures stationed in the immediate presence of God, "in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne," Rev. iv, 6—forms of life ever in fellowship with the absolute Life, the throned Lifegiver. The other "beasts"[4] of the same book are symbols of dark and terrible earth-powers,

[1] *παῖς.*
[2] *ἀφθαρσία, ἀθανασία.*
[3] *ζῷον.*
[4] *θηρίον*—"beast," or "monster," occurring over thirty-five times.

noted for rebellion and persecution, for ferocious impiety, and for an awful and ominous downfall and penalty. The Rhemists must have been under a strong delusion, for in their Latin copy they had "animalia" and "bestia," and our own revisers had "living creatures" in the first chapter of Ezekiel. Perhaps the translation was suggested by the form of these animal figures—the lion, ox, eagle, and man, wrought into one figure,—emblems frequent in all the oriental forms of worship.

Two adjectives are both rendered "poor." The one occurs only once in 2 Cor. ix, 9, and means a poor man, a pauper, and also several times in the Septuagint; but the other term means beggars in Luke xvi, 20, 22, while another participle is used in John ix, 8.

"Dead"[1] represents two Greek words which vary in signification. There is the simple verb used only in the perfect, and its commoner compound, which means "to die." The simple verb is usually translated "dead." The compound is often and rightly rendered by "die." The aorist cannot often be rendered in this way, Mark v, 35, or Luke viii, 49, where the perfect is used. But in Luke xvi, 22, and in the story told to Christ of the luckless woman seven times widowed, in Luke xx, the proper translation is preserved, and it would have been better to have preserved this rendering in John vi, 49, 58, "Your fathers ate manna in the wilderness and died," as is done in viii, 21, "ye shall die in your sins," and in many other places. In Rom. vi, vii, viii, this is the proper rendering, not "is" or "are dead," but "died": "we died to sin," "died to the law," 2 Cor. v, 14; "if one died for all, then all died," Galatians ii, 19; Colossians ii, 20, "if ye died with Christ"; rightly in 2 Cor. vi, 9, "as dying, and behold we live." The adjective,[2] however, refers to the state, and is always rendered "dead."

Two words are rendered "world" without distinction; the one is "world" always, but with varying senses—as the globe, the population upon it, especially as now conditioned by sin

[1] *θνήσκω*, *ἀποθνήσκω*.

[2] *νεκρός*. *νέκρωσις* is more than "the dying"—2 Cor. iv, 10, is the putting to death of Jesus; what put Jesus to death was ever expected to seize and martyr them.

and alienation from God. The other, meaning "age," oftenest occurs in a temporal sense, as in the phrase, "for ever and evermore," &c., and is also sometimes rendered "world," as in Matt. xii, 32; Mark iv, 19; Luke xx, 34; 1 Cor. i, 20; 2 Cor. iv, 4. It would be impossible to put "age" in many of the places, or to give it an ethical sense. We have also the two words in one clause in Eph. ii. 2, "according to the course of this world."[1]

"Will" is at once the auxiliary in the formation of the English future, but it also represents two different Greek verbs,[2] so that the distinction cannot be always marked by the English reader. Thus in Matt. xi, 27, "and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him" reads like a simple future, but it is to whom the Son willeth to reveal him. In some cases, the rendering is "would" (Acts xvii, 20), "would know," and sometimes it is "intended" (Acts xii, 4), and "disposed" (1 Cor. x, 27). "They that will be rich," is really "they that would be, or desire to be, rich," 1 Tim. vii, 9. So with the second Greek verb in Matt. v, 40, "If any man will sue thee at the law," is not a supposed future occurrence, as the English might imply, but, "if any man would sue thee." In Matt. xvi, 24, "If any man willeth to come after me"—his own volition and purpose being contained in this verb. The use of "would" might tend to remove the dubiety in Matt. xv, 32; xix, 17, 21; xx, 14; Mark x, 43.[3] John viii, 44, is no mere prediction—"The lusts of your father ye will do," but it is "ye will to do." Acts vii, 28, "Wilt thou kill me?" is no simple future, but is "willest thou to kill me?" Matt. xv, 32, "I will not send them away fasting," better, "I would not send them." Twice the phrase occurs, "I will

[1] κόσμος, αἰών.

[2] βούλομαι, θέλω. Μέλλω, followed by an infinitive, is often rendered as a simple future, while its more distinctive sense might be in many cases preserved, as is done in John iv, 47.

[3] Mr. Earle says "that in these instances no question of Greek is involved." Surely the mere future of a Greek verb does differ from a finite verb connected with an infinitive following. Philology of the English Tongue, p. 203, Oxford, 1871.

have mercy," Matt. xii, 7, Romans ix, 15, but with a wide difference of meaning. In the first place it is, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice," on the part of man; in the second case, the phrase is the simple future, an expression of God's sovereign procedure.

"Weep" represents two verbs,[1] the one of which is of common occurrence, and is once rendered "bewail" in Rev. xviii, 9; the other[2] occurs only once, and in that shortest and most memorable verse, "Jesus wept," John xi, 35. Such a verse, so familiar, so pregnant with assurance of His fellow-feeling, it would be, perhaps, impossible to alter. The other verb is applied to Mary and the Jews; Jewish mourners wail rather than weep, and in the midst of this demonstrative sorrow, and in sympathy with it, His bosom heaved, His eye filled, and Jesus shed tears. "Strong crying and tears" in Heb. v, 7, are associated apparently in reference to the agony of Gethsemane.

"Servant," in the parable in Matt. xxii, represents two different words—first, the class that summoned the invited guests, human agents, verses 3, 4, 8, and 10; and then the class that execute the penal sentence, and are angelic ministers. The distinction between "servant" and "minister" is found in Tyndale, the Great Bible, the Genevan of 1557, and the Bishops', but was obliterated by Coverdale and by the Genevan of 1560. The Authorized Version is without excuse, for in Mark x, 43, 44, it has both "minister" and "servant."

The word "judge" represents three allied Greek verbs, and puzzles the reader in 1 Cor. xi, 31, 32, "for if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged," "but when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord."[3] The verb means "discerned," "if we had discerned ourselves we should not be judged," and the term is so rendered in verse 29, "not discerning the Lord's body." In verses 32 and 34 the words "condemned," "condemnation," stand for two different words, the former of which[4] is properly rendered, but the latter[5] is only judgment, and the

[1] *κλαίω*, [2] *δακρύω*.
[3] *εἰ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα.*
[4] *κατακριθῶμεν.* [5] *κρίμα*, as in verse 29.

verb is properly translated in Romans ii, 1 and 3. "Judge" stands for two verbs, single and compound, in 1 Cor. iv, 3, 4, 5, "It is a small thing that I should be judged of you," "He that judgeth me is the Lord," "Therefore judge nothing before the time"; but the compound verb used in 3 and 4 does not mean "to judge," but to inquire into[1] (compare 1 Cor. x, 27, where it is given as "asking no question"). Its noun[2] signifies a preliminary examination before a judge, Acts xxv, 26, like what in Scottish law is called a "precognition." Similar mistranslations occur in 1 Cor. ii, 15, though a better translation is given in the last clause of the previous verse—"discerned."

"Wash" represents three Greek verbs, two of which may be distinguished as they occur in John xiii, 10, rendered in our version as in the older versions, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit"—Jesus washed the feet of his disciples, Peter objected, but cried in the end, "not my feet only, but also my hands and my head," and the reply of Jesus is in the words quoted. But the first verb[3] employed signifies the application of water to the whole body, as with the dead body of Dorcas according to Jewish ritual, Acts ix, 37, in the proverb quoted in 2 Peter ii, 22, and in Heb. x, 23, and Rev. i, 5. It means therefore to bathe, and the other verb[4] means to wash a part of the body, as the face, Matt. vi, 17, the hands, Mark vii, 3, and the feet as in this paragraph, "He who is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet," as his feet touching the floor after he comes out of the bath may contract impurity. The third verb[5] is usually connected with things, such as nets, Luke v, 2, robes, Rev. vii, 14, and according to another reading in Rev. xxii, 14.

The adjective "other" represents two distinct words, and these occur together in Gal. i, 6, 7, "so soon removed from him that called you unto another gospel, which is not another." The first epithet denotes distinction among individuals, and the second difference of kind, being so soon removed to a different gospel which, however, is not "another" or additional gospel;

[1] ἀνακρίνω. [2] ἀνάκρισις. [3] λούω.
[4] νίπτω. [5] πλύνω.

and similarly in 2 Cor. xi, 4, and 1 Cor. xv, 39, 40, 41. In the last place, the first adjective refers to things of different classes, generically different as celestial and terrestrial, and the second to objects of the same class, sun, moon, and stars.

"Remission" stands for two Greek nouns, the one of which occurs only once in Romans iii, 25,[1] the other is six times rendered "forgiveness" and nine times "remission." The first is rightly rendered in the margin of Romans iii, 25, "passing over"—it is not remission, but prætermission. The meaning is, God set Christ forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, for a declaration of His righteousness on account of the prætermision in the forbearance of God of the sins that went before. This long interval, prior to the advent of Christ, had witnessed no adequate exhibition of God's wrath against sin, therefore now, or "at this time," there was a very signal and awful manifestation of it in the blood of his Son. None of the early versions indicate the difference.

The translation in Romans xii, 2, "be not conformed . . . . but be transformed," would lead the English reader to imagine that the Greek terms so rendered are the same verb compounded with different prepositions. But the verbs are very different in form altogether—"fashioned . . . . transformed."

Two different terms[2] are both rendered "burden" in Gal. vi, 2, "bear ye one another's burdens," and verse 5, "every one shall bear his own burden." The first is "loads" which others in sympathy may help to carry; the second is the individual burden which each must carry for himself, sin, weakness, responsibility. The earlier English versions do not attempt to mark the distinction; the Vulgate has *onus* in both cases, and the Rheims therefore translates both substantives by "burden."

"Repent" represents two verbs,[3] which occur together in 2 Cor. vii, 10, "Godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of." Both verbs are always rendered "repent," though there is a very important distinction between them. The one is a term of deeper meaning and really

[1] *πάρεσις, ἄφεσις.* [2] *βάρη, φορτίον.* [3] *μετανοέω, μεταμέλομαι.*

denotes change of mind, and in the New Testament the profound and vital change; while the other term is more superficial in nature, though it sometimes approaches the other in meaning. It is rather regret, "a repentance unto salvation not to be regretted," or remorse, as in the case of Judas, Matt. xxvii, 3. As Bengel remarks, "the first verb is put in the imperative, the second never."

In James i, 15, "bringeth forth" represents two different verbs;[1] "lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." The first is rightly rendered, the image being that of the mother; but, in the second clause, sin, when it is perfected, begetteth death, the image is that of the father. Wycliffe and the Rheims, following the Latin, make a distinction by "conceived" and "gendreth," but the distinction is not imitated by any of the other versions.

The two verbs meaning generally "to do" and "to make" may be often distinguished in translation;[2] and several words referring to speech might be kept distinct.[3] Other terms closely allied in meaning,[4] and different verbs connected with vision,[5] might also be marked. The rendering "I know" in Acts xix, 15, represents two different Greek verbs, which may and ought to be, distinguished. Canon Lightfoot proposes, "Jesus I acknowledge, and Paul I know." It would be difficult to preserve the distinction in any translation of 2 Cor. v, 16.

"Hell" represents two very different Greek nouns, Hades and Gehenna, the first of which is rendered "grave" in 1 Cor. xv, 35, where it is personified, and it sometimes approaches in sense to Gehenna, as in Matt. xi, 23, and in Luke xvi, 23. But it often means the other or spirit-world, the region of disembodied spirits, as in Acts ii, 27, 31, and in the Apocalypse, when death ceases, Hades comes to an end. Could "Hades" not now be naturalized? Is its meaning so well known that it might take its place in an English Bible? Hell, with the

[1] τίκτω, ἀποκυέω.

[2] ποιέω, πράσσω.

[3] λαλέω, λέγω, εἶπον.

[4] τηρέω, φυλάσσω; αἰτέω, ἐρωτάω.

[5] βλέπω, ὁράω, θεωρέω, θεάομαι.

popular conception of it, is in many places a sad mistranslation. The older versions did not attempt to make any distinction.

"Devil" represents two terms, the one of them, the Greek form of the word "devil," occurs at least thirty-five times, and the other is the term "demon," the masculine form of which occurs only five times in the Received Text, but two of the instances are more than doubtful. The neuter form is the common one, especially in the Gospels, where it is found over fifty times, while in the succeeding books it occurs eight times. In Acts xvii, 18, it is rendered "gods." The correspondent verb is found only in the Gospels, and there thirteen times, and it is usually rendered "possessed with," or "of the devil" or "devils," and in John, where it is found only twice, the rendering is "that hath a devil." On the other hand the term "devil" has a literal and human application, as in John vi, 70, where, without the article, it is applied to Judas; in 1 Tim. iii, 11, where it occurs in the plural, and is translated "slanderers"; and in 2 Tim. iii, 3, and Titus ii, 3, where it is rendered "false accusers." But it has a special and emphatic use—"the devil" —never in the plural and always with the article, one being and one only having the terrible pre-eminence. The "demons" are spirits, "unclean," "evil," but he is Satan, the Tempter, the Enemy, the Adversary, the god of this world, the prince of this world, who has the power of death, the Old Serpent, the Great Dragon who deceiveth the world. Certain men are said to have these demons, to be demonized, or to be mobbed by them, Luke vi, 18, and the result of Christ's power was that the unclean spirit "came out,"—"Come out and enter no more into him." Possession was disease like epilepsy, for the victim was "healed"; and some kind of insanity, for the "right mind" was restored. But it was something more,—the intrusion of an alien force into the nervous system, impeding sensation, so that the patient was deaf and dumb, with perfect organs but without power to use them, his will overlorded by an alien might,[1] which created the confusion of an apparently dual consciousness. The rendering of the two distinct terms by the same word,

[1] *καταδυναστεύω.*

obliterates a very marked distinction to the English reader. The Wycliffite versions are not uniform, as in Matt xii, 24, both have "fiends," but in verse 27, "If I by Belzebub cast out devils." If Tyndale had ventured to introduce "demon," it would long since have been naturalized; and even now the distinction being generally understood, it might be safely introduced into an English version for personal and public reading.

"Miracles" stands for two terms,[1] which are occasionally confounded, while another noun always used in the plural is rendered "wonders." This first name is never directly given to any of Christ's miracles in the Gospels. It is once so employed along with the other terms in Acts ii, 22, to characterize Christ's miracles; and those done by the apostles, Heb. ii, 4; also those done by the man of sin, 2 Thess. ii, 9. The English term "miracle" is not very significant of the character of Christ's supernatural works, for the element of wonder was the least characteristic element in them: it was like the tolling of the bell to summon the people to worship. The second term denotes power, or the element of power inherent in those miracles. It is often translated "mighty works" in the synoptical Gospels, and in the other parts of the New Testament. But when used as a nominative, Mark vi, 14, the sense is, "the powers do work in him," and not "mighty works do show forth themselves in him." But the meaning of the word is completely lost when it is vaguely rendered "miracles" in Mark ix, 39; Acts ii, 22; viii, 13; xix, 11, &c. "Mighty works" should have been given in all these places. The third term, "sign," is the highest and most suggestive of all, and it is vaguely and variously rendered. The miracle was a "sign," or token of divine interposition, and that is the primal distinction. But the meaning and significance are quite lost by its being rendered more than twenty times "miracles," once in Luke xxiii, 8, and twelve times in John, so that one characteristic element of the style of the fourth Gospel is obliterated, "sign" being John's favourite term for Christ's divine deeds, which are never called by him in themselves works of power or of wonder. In the places of the three Gospels where

[1] τέρας, δύναμις, σημεῖον.

the word has its ordinary meaning, it is uniformly rendered "sign," and it should have been kept throughout. It is given in John xx, 30, as "signs"—"many other signs truly did Jesus," and the question may be asked, What and where are the "other signs," for they get no such name in the previous chapters. The point of many a passage is thereby lost. The mistranslation or variation was introduced on purpose, for four times the rendering is "sign" when the reference is to miracles in John; and it is also rendered "wonders" three times in Revelation, and the rendering introduces confusion. In the other books it is rendered capriciously, in Matthew and Mark it is only "sign," in Luke "sign" ten times, "miracle" once, in Acts "sign" seven times, "miracle" five times; in the Epistles, "sign" eight times, and "token" once in 2 Thess. iii, 17.[1]

It is all but impossible to represent an anakolouthon in a version, or any of the paronomasia, such as are met with in Matt. xxi, 41; Luke xxi, 11; Acts viii, 30; xvii, 25; Rom. xii, 3; 1 Cor. vii, 31; xii, 2; 2 Cor. i, 13; iii, 2; v, 8; x, 12; xii, 4; 2 Thess. i, 6; iii, 11; Eph. v, 15; Heb. v, 8; or such related terms as are found in Matt. xvi, 18; and 1 Tim. i, 8. In a few cases there is some imitation of the assonance of the original. The fulness of sense usually evaporates, when a verb governs a cognate word. Compare Luke ii, 8; Eph. iv, 8; Col. ii, 19; 1 Tim. vi, 12; 1 Peter iii, 14; Rev. xvii, 6. But the connection between the symbol and the gift is not and cannot be kept in John xx, 22, "he breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Spirit (Breath)." Nor can a like connec-

[1] It would scarcely be possible to give a distinct meaning to ἐξουσία and δύναμις; though "authority" is the sense of the first, and "power" of the second; the first is often rendered "power," but the second never "authority." Two allied adjectives are distinguished—one, σάρκινος, which occurs only once, being rendered "fleshy," 2 Cor. iii, 3, while σαρκικός is often translated "carnal," and twice "fleshly." But παράκλητος is neither "comforter" nor "advocate" in the modern sense of those words, and there is no single English term that covers it. "Comforter" is also an active rendering of a passive form. "A time accepted," and "the accepted time" stand for distinct but closely connected adjectives, 2 Cor. vi, 2. Ἀρνίον, and ἀμνός used four times, and always of Christ, cannot be distinguished in an English translation.

tion be marked in 2 Cor. i, 21, "He that stablisheth us with you in Christ (the Anointed) and anointed us is God." Every English reader above the intellectual level of Davus must of necessity suppose that "teach" . . . . "teaching," Matt. xxviii, 19, 20; "kept," . . . . "kept," John xvii, 12; "sounds," . . . . "sounds," 1 Cor. xiv, 7; "came" . . . . "came" in 36; "made" . . . . "made," 2 Cor. v, 21; "ministering," . . . . "minister," Heb. i, 14, represent respectively the same Greek words repeated in those verses quoted. But it is not so. And, on the other hand, Davus himself, if he were only partially awake, could not but imagine that "release" and "let go," John xix, 12, represent different Greek verbs, and that "nigh" and "near," Matt. xxiv, 32, 33, "perfect" and "throughly furnished," 2 Tim. iii, 17, are put down to render different words in the original. Perhaps he might say, as some have said, that though Jesus forbids the use of the ejaculation, "Thou fool," Matt. v, 22, he yet employs it himself, "O fools," Luke xxiv, 25. But the identity is only in the English version. And he must be startled to find Jesus saluting the traitor Judas as "friend," Matt. xxvi, 50, "friend" being the uniform rendering of a very different Greek term.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE translators were guided by no fixed principle in dealing with the Greek article. Yet it ever serves its own purpose in the original, and is to be rendered in all cases, save where the English idiom forbids it. The translation of it is impossible, indeed, in the case of abstract nouns and proper names, such as "wisdom," Matt. xi, 19; "sin," Romans vii, 8; "nature," 1 Cor. xi, 14; "death," xv, 21; "God," as in 1 Thess. i, 9, though the article is there significant. As the article is used by us only in some nominal epithets, as "the apostle," "the evangelist," it may be doubted whether the English ear would bear such a literal rendering as "the weeping, the gnashing of teeth," Matt. viii, 12. It might stand before the first three nouns in Matt. xxiii, 23, but not so well before the three last. So that the presence and absence of the article cannot be well, or at least uniformly, marked in English. The phrase "Holy Spirit," when used in an objective sense, as denoting the Spirit in Himself, has commonly the article in Greek, but wants it when used in a subjective sense, as referring to His gifts or influences. There are many examples. There are many irregularities: 1 Thess. v, 5, "ye are all the children of light and the children of the day," and yet neither substantive has the article; and we have in the next clause, "we are not of the night nor of darkness," both nouns being again without the article. Somewhat similarly in the publican's prayer,—"Be merciful to me a sinner," Luke xviii, 13, where the article should be translated, for the suppliant singles out himself in his profound emotion, and he knew also that he was pointed at, from his class and profession, as "the sinner." John iii, 10,

"Art thou a teacher?" "the teacher?" specializing his repute and authority. In 1 Thess. v, 8, "faith, love, salvation," as being terms familiar and definite, have no article, and, by correlation, the preceding substantives also dispense with it, though it may appear in an English version, as in Matt. i, 1. It is the same when in connection with nuncupative verbs (Matt. v, 9). The English does not need the article in some cases, as Luke xi, 7, "in bed"; Matt. xi, 29, "in heart." A singular or plural denoting a whole race or class has the article, though it is not needed in English, and English usage sometimes renders the translation of it unnecessary, as "man," Matt. iv, 4. Compare Matt. v, 13; ix, 8; John ii, 25. The indefinite as well as the definite English article may be used in a clause where an individual represents a class, though the article is employed in Greek. Our translators took full license, and used both forms, but oftenest they ignore the definite article: Matt. xiii, 3, "a sower"; John xvi, 21, "a woman"; 1 Tim. iii, 2, "a bishop"; Matt. xv, 11, "a man"; x, 16, "wise as serpents, harmless as doves"; Luke xxii, 31, "to sift you as wheat"; Ephes. v, 24, "wives"; 25, "husbands"; vi, 1, "children"; 5, "servants"; 9, "masters"; 1 Cor. vii, 34, "a wife and a virgin," where the article might have been rendered. If it was thought that in such cases the article might be omitted in English, the rule was not carried out, for we have in Luke x, 7, "the labourer"; 2 Cor. xii, 14, "the children," "the parents"; in Galatians iv, 1, "the heir." The rendering of the article, as in these instances, is very capricious. In Matt. xxvii, 60, the correct translation given is "hewn out in the rock," yet it is in Mark xv, 46, "hewn out of a rock." But they are perpetually turning their back upon themselves. Matt. xvii, 15, "he ofttimes falleth into the fire and oft into the water"; but they give the same translation in Mark ix, 22, though there be no article in the original. But this process is also reversed, for in Matt. viii, 20, we read "the foxes . . . the birds," while in Luke ix, 58 we have the article of the original excluded—"foxes . . . birds." In Mark iv, 31, 32, the article is given in one clause—"less than all the seeds," but excluded in the next clause—"greater than all herbs." It is impossible

to divine what prompted the change in two clauses so close and so parallel. It is "the wicked one" in Matt. xiii, 19; "the wicked one" in 1 John ii, 13, 14; but "that wicked one" in iii, 12, and in v, 18. In 1 Tim. vi, 12, the clause is rightly rendered "the good fight," but in 2 Tim. iv, 7, it is "a good fight," the article being suppressed. The rendering is correct, "built his house on the sand," Matt. vii, 26, but, with curious oblivion, in verses 24, 25, the contrasted phrase is rendered "on a rock." Nay, there is a change in the same verse—Matt. xii, 29, "the strong man," which is correct in the second clause, while "a strong man" occurs in the first. In Matt. ii, 13, the same phrase is wrongly rendered "the angel of the Lord," but rightly rendered in verse 19, "an angel of the Lord." Two opposite errors are found in Luke ii, 12, which should read, "this shall be the sign, ye shall find a babe," the insertion and omission of the article being both wrong in the common version. In John vii, 40, the rendering is right, "this is the prophet," but wrong in i, 21, 25, "that prophet," with a still worse marginal rendering, "a prophet," the rendering of Tyndale; the Great Bible has "that prophet," and is followed by the Bishops'; but the Genevan of 1560 has correctly "the prophet." In Col. iv, 16, we have "this epistle" in the first clause, and "the epistle" in the last clause. The phrase is rightly given "the wrath" in 1 Thess. iii, 16, but the same phrase by itself is also rendered "wrath," as in Rom. ii, 5; v, 9. The translation of the last clause of John i, 1, is correct—"and the Word was God," the Word being marked by the article as the subject; but the rule is ignored in rendering 1 Tim. vi, 5, "supposing that gain is godliness," godliness being the subject. They also fall from their steadfastness in Matt. xiii, 39, when they render "the reapers are the angels" which would mean the whole number of the angels; but here, as in other instances, the predicate wants the article, and the sense is "the reapers are angels," or belong to the angelic orders of being. They err also in 1 Tim vi, 2, in rendering "because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit," for the last clause, as the article shows, is the subject, "for they who are partakers of the

benefit are faithful and beloved." "The house" is given, Matt. xiii, 1, and in ix, 28, in xvii, 25, and Mark ix, 33; but it is changed in Mark vii, 24, and in Matt. x, 12, where it should be "when ye come into the house," the house selected as worthy. While the translation is uniformly, "the desert," or the "wilderness," it is remarkable that they never say "the mountain," at least on the first mention of it in connection with Jesus, though the mountain must have been as definite to the writer, and the earliest circle of readers, as "the desert." Compare Matt. v, 1, Mark iii, 13. "Boat" and "ship" in the evangelical narrative have usually the article. But the article is inserted where it ought not in Luke vi, 17, "in the plain," which is literally "on a level place."[1]

Similar inconsistency is seen in the treatment of the article which occurs before the name "Christ." As Christ was not originally a proper name, but an official epithet of the long promised, long expected Deliverer, the natural translation is "the Christ"—the Anointed One. The true translation is given in Matt. xxvi, 63, where it could not well be avoided, "whether thou be the Christ," and similarly xvi, 16, "Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ," and in the high priest's question "Art thou the Christ?" Mark xiv, 61, Luke iii, 15, and in xxiii, 35. These clauses might have shown the necessity of a similar version in Matt. ii, 4, "Herod demanded where the Christ should be born," or the person that under this title was the grand object of the national hope and prayer. Compare Matt. xxiv, 23, &c.

It may be stated more formally that, by the frequent omission of the article in the English version, the sense loses some point or specialty. The following are specimens, and the clauses

[1] There are some idioms of usage which are not very easily shown in English. ὁ ποιμήν ὁ καλός is more than "the good shepherd," the element of goodness being specialized. When two consecutive nouns occur, and the second wants the article, there is unity of thought (1 Thess. ii, 12), but when the article is repeated, as in 1 Cor. iii, 8, it should be represented in English. Nor is it easy to mark the difference in such phrases as ὅλος ὁ κόσμος, and ὁ κόσμος ὅλος, the second form being the more emphatic.

might be rendered as given: Matt. i, 23, "behold the virgin shall conceive," the one predicted and singled out; iv, 5, "the pinnacle of the temple," a portion of the building quite familiar; "the bushel," "the candlestick," common and characteristic articles of furniture in a Jewish house—the English version being wrongly conformed to Luke viii, 16, where the Greek has no article; viii, 12, "the outer darkness"; 32, "the whole herd ran violently down the steep," or precipice well-known; x, 23, "flee into the other or next (city)"; xiii, 42, "into the furnace"; xiii, 7, "some fell on the thorns"; xiv, 13, "followed him from the cities"; xviii, 3, "and become as the little children," perhaps at the moment within view on the shore of the lake; xxi, 12, "seats of them that sold the doves," a trade that all poor sacrificers took advantage of; xxiv, 32, "learn the parable from the fig tree," the parable given in the rest of the verse; xxv, 32, "as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats."

Mark ii, 16, "with the publicans and sinners" which are referred to in verse 15; iv, 38, "he was in the hinder part of the ship asleep on the pillow," the well-known pillow or cushion.

Luke ii, 7, "in the manger," which belonged to all such "inns"; vii, 5, "the synagogue," one familiar and well known; xii, 54, "the cloud" rising out of the Levant which brings rain; xvii, 17, "were not the ten cleansed," the entire company.

John iv, 40, "He abode there two days," but, 43, "now after the two days," the days just referred to; v, 35, "the burning and shining lamp," or the lamp that burneth and shineth; xiii, 5, "poureth water into the basin," the basin there, and ready to be used; 26, "to whom I shall give the sop"; xviii, 3, "Judas having received the band of men and officers," the band ordered out for him; xxi, 8, "and came in the boat," in which they had been fishing all the night.

Acts i, 13, "into the upper room"; ix, 7, "hearing the voice"; xvii, 1, "where was the synagogue of the Jews," the synagogue serving for that region, there being none at Philippi; xx, 9, "there sat in the window"; verse 13, "we went before to the ship"; xxi, 26, "until that the offering should be offered for every one of them," the offering prescribed in connection

with the termination of a vow; xxii, 25, "as they bound him with the thongs," thongs usually employed to tie up a man who was to be scourged; xxiv, 23, "he commanded the centurion to keep him," perhaps the one on duty, or by whom he had been escorted to Cæsarea.

Romans, v, 19, "the many," several times; xvi, 23, "Quartus the brother," signalized as such, or known as such, to the church of Rome.

1 Corinthians v, 9, "I write you in the epistle," probably a former one; xiv, 16, "the Amen."

2 Cor. xii, 18, "with him (Titus) I sent the brother," one well known at the time in Corinth.

Galatians, ii, 4, "the false brethren"; iv, 27, "than she which hath the husband."

Ephesians vi, 9, "forbearing the threatening," which is so notorious a characteristic of slave-masters; vi, 21, "Tychicus the beloved brother," and similarly Col. iv, 7.

Philippians iv, 17, "not that I seek the gift."

2 Thessalonians, i, 8, "taking vengeance on them that know not God, and on them that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ," two classes being probably pointed at, Pagans and Jews; but the omission of the article in the second clause would identify them; ii, 3, "except there come the falling away first;" 11, "that they should believe the lie."

1 Timothy ii, 8, "I will that the men pray," the women being referred to in the following verse.

Hebrews ix, 11, "by the greater and more perfect tabernacle"; xi, 35, "not even accepting the deliverance," one so well known in Hebrew story.

1 John ii, 22, "Who is the liar?"

Revelation, ii, 10, "the crown of life"; vii, 13, "in the white robes"; 14, "out of the great tribulation," the article being repeated; xi, 11, "after the three days and a half," referred to in verse 9; xi, 12, "in the cloud"; xiv, 1, "the lamb"; xix, 16, "the name written"; 20, "into the lake." When the article is found after a preposition or before a noun, governing a following genitive, it claims special attention. "Heaven," "heavens," appear oftenest without the article,

though it is sometimes used, the singular form being specially found in Mark, Luke, and John, and the plural in Matthew.

But the English version inserts the definite article where the Greek has nothing to correspond, the rendering or omission of the article being quite irregular. Sometimes indeed the following genitive so specifies the governing noun that it has the force of an article as in 1 Thess. v, 2, "the day of the Lord," both nouns without the article—the best reading. On a different ground, Col. iv, 11, "who are of the circumcision." Gal. ii, 12, "fearing them of the circumcision," there being no article in the original with the abstract noun. 1 Cor. v, 8, "nor with the leaven of malice"; but in xii, 8, it should be "a word of wisdom," "a word of knowledge"; 2 Cor. ii, 16, "a savour of death"; iii, 15, "a vail lieth on their hearts"; xi, 13, "apostles of Christ," and similarly 2 Thess. ii, 6. Gal. i, 10, a "servant of Christ"; ii, 17, "a minister of sin"; iii, 10, "under curse." Ephes. ii, 3, "children of wrath"; v, 23, "a husband is head of the wife." Philip. ii, 15, "children of God"; 1 Tim. ii, 7, "I speak truth"; Jude i, "Jude, a servant of," but in Rev. xiii, 1, we have "the name of blasphemy," with "names" on the margin according to another reading;[1] xiv, 4, "first fruits unto God."

The following are literal renderings, though not employed in the Authorized Version: Matt. xxvi, 74, "immediately a cock crew," one of the cocks in the neighbourhood; xxvii, 4, "have betrayed innocent blood." Mark xii, 32, "thou hast spoken truth." Luke iii, 14, "and soldiers asked him, saying"; vi, 16, "who also became a traitor." John iv, 23, "an hour cometh"; 27, "wondered that he talked with a woman"—they knew nothing of her character; vi, 59, "in a synagogue." Acts i, 7, "times and seasons"; iii, 21 "heaven"; ix, 7, "hearing indeed a voice"; xvii, 23, "to an unknown God"; xxii, 4, "unto death"; xxvi, 2, "accused by Jews," not by the Jews or the whole nation. Rom. ii, 14, "Gentiles which have not the law," not the Gentiles as a class, but some of them. 1 Cor. iii,

[1] The singular is the reading of Beza and of Stephens, though the latter has the plural in his margin, and the plural is accepted by Tregelles and Tischendorf, but refused by Alford.

10, "I have laid a foundation"; iv, 1, "a minister of Christ." 2 Cor. vi, 16, "the temple of a living God." Gal. iv, 32, "children of a bondwoman." Philip. iii, 5, "a Hebrew of Hebrews." 1 Thess. iv, 17, "in clouds." Rev. xxii, 5, "they have not need of light of lamp and light of sun."

The presence or absence of the article with the term "law" is to be carefully distinguished, but the reader of our Bible has no clue to such distinction as is in the original.

Not only is the article omitted and inserted against rule, but it is also sometimes overpressed when rendered as a demonstrative pronoun: Matt. xv, 12, "after they heard this saying"; xxvii, 15, "at that feast," "that" in italics, and similarly Mark xv, 6. John i, 21, "Art thou that prophet?" but rightly in vii, 40, "the prophet"; iv, 37, "is that saying true"; vi, 32, "that bread"; 69, "that Christ"; vii, 26, "the very Christ"; 37, "that great day"; ix, 22, "very Christ"; xi, 51, 52, "that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only." Acts xix, 9, "but spake evil of that way." 1 Cor. v, 13, "put away that wicked person"; x, 4, "that rock was Christ"; xv, 37, "thou sowest not that body that shall be." 2 Cor. iii, 17, "now the Lord is that spirit"; vii, 11, "in this matter"; v, 27, "this epistle." 2 Thess. ii, 3, "that man of sin"; 8, "that wicked"; iii, 14, "by this epistle." Rev. i, 3, "the words of this prophecy." 1 John i, 2, "that eternal life."

1 Cor. xi, 28, "that bread," "that cup," "that" not being in italics in the first edition.

The article, however, may be sometimes translated as an unemphatic possessive pronoun: Matt. xiv, 19, "to his disciples"; xxi, 41, "let out his vineyard"; xxv, 32, "as a shepherd divideth his sheep," but "his goats" ought to have followed.

John xiii, 14, "your Lord and master."

Rev. xx, 4, "had not received his mark."

In two verses, 2 Tim. iv, 7, 8, is exhibited the following variety of translations: (1) Omission—"I have fought a good fight"; (2) Overpressure—"I have finished my course"; (3) Correct rendering—"I have kept the faith"; (4) Omission again—"A crown of righteousness."

CHAPTER LV.

THE Greek tenses are often confounded and misrendered in the English Version. While the aorist or indefinite past tense should have its own proper translation, wherever English idiom can bear it, sometimes it is rendered by the perfect; Matt. vii, 22, should be, "did we not prophesy?" at a time gone past; in Luke xiv, 18, 19, 20, are three verbs which might indeed be rendered as aorists, "I bought a piece of ground," &c., but the translation may be pardoned, "I have bought a piece of ground," &c., since the transactions are recent, and they are spoken of in immediate relation to the present act of refusal. Matt. xiii, 24; xviii, 23, "the kingdom was likened to"; or, in the view of the evangelist, the likening took place at that time—past to him, and past also to an oral narrator. In the intercessory prayer in John xvii, there are many aorists, and the meaning is apparent and impressive, for He speaks as from a high and mysterious future point, "I am no more in the world"; "I glorified thee," the past time, in an absolute sense, filling the Saviour's soul; "I manifested thy name"; "as thou didst send me"; "thou gavest him power over all flesh," a past or eternal gift of the Father to Him. Acts i, 1, "The former treatise I made," not "have I made," a statement independent of the present; 7, "which the Father put in his own power," not "hath put," the reference being to the unlimited past, the eternal act or purpose; in xix, 2, the sense and reference of the question are darkened in our version, "have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" the true translation, "did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed, or on your

believing?" and the reply is, "we did not hear whether there be Holy Ghost," for they had been baptized unto John's baptism. Similarly, in Matt. ii, 15, the reference being to a historic fact asserted by Hosea. The perfect in our version often represents the aorist to the detriment of the sense. Thus Matt. xxvii, 46, should be, "why didst thou forsake me?" Again and again in Galatians—as i, 13, "ye have heard"; ii, 16, "we have believed"; iii, 4, "have ye suffered"; 13, "hath redeemed us"; 22, "hath concluded"; 27 "have been baptized"; iv, 12, "ye have not injured me"; v, 1, "hath made free"; 13, "ye have been called"; 21, "as I have also told you"; 24, "have crucified." In these cases the English perfect mistranslates the Greek, for the verbs in the indefinite past, describe acts done long ago, or tell what was distinct in their life and experience. In iii, 13, "Christ redeemed us" is the proper rendering, "redeemed us when he died on the cross"; but the epistolary aorist in vi, 11, could not be rendered otherwise than by the perfect, "I have written."

In the epistle to the Ephesians the following places exhibit the same mistranslation of the aorist: i, 3, "hath blessed us"; 4, "hath chosen us"; 6, "hath made us accepted"; 8, "hath abounded toward us;" 9, "hath purposed"; 11, "have obtained an inheritance," all belonging to a previous period, not formally connected with the present. But the perfect is forgotten in verse 12, as if it had been an aorist, and the rendering should be, "first have hoped in Christ." The next paragraph, 20, 22, contains a series of aorists, "he wrought in Christ," "set him at his own right hand"; 22, "put all things under him"; but in the last instance there is an unaccountable deviation from uniformity, and the aorist is rendered by the perfect, "hath put all things under him." In the second chapter our version has, "hath he quickened," and in 5, "hath quickened," "hath raised us and made us to sit." The reference of the aorist is quite lost by such a rendering in the perfect, for the aorist refers back to the resurrection of Christ, when all His were included in Him, so that what is historically true of Him is spiritually and potentially true of them. Erroneous rendering is found in Ephes. ii, 14—it should be, "who made both

one," at the period of His atoning death. Again, in iv, 7, "is given" stands for "was given," at the Ascension; in 20 it ought to be, "did not so learn Christ," that is, at the time of the apostles preaching to them; and, in harmony, the next verse should be, "if so be that ye heard and were taught"; in 30, "are sealed" should be "were sealed," at the time of their conversion. In v, 2, the same blunder occurs, "as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us." The Authorized Version in this mistranslation followed the Bishops', and left the old versions, which accurately represent the aorist. In Hebrews x, 20, it is not, "he hath consecrated," but simply "consecrated," that is, at the epoch of His propitiatory death. It shows a strange carelessness to render one act of a series by the English perfect, as in Gal. iii, 2, 4, "Received ye the Spirit"; and to follow it up by a perfect, "have ye suffered"; or when the same phrase, which is rendered in Matt. xi, 21, "the mighty works which were done," is rendered in 23, "the mighty works which have been done." When the aorist is employed to present a general truth, it is impossible to give it always in idiomatic English. John xv, 6, is literally, "he was cast forth as a branch and was withered, and they cast it into the fire and they are burned." The Saviour looks back, as it were, from the period of the judgment and describes historically, but as in present view, the result of apostasy. James i, 11, presents a figure based on common experience, and it is told as if after the event by an onlooker; "for the sun rose with the heat, and dried up the grass, and the flower thereof fell away, and the beauty of its appearance perished: so also shall the rich man wither in his ways." The Bishops' gives the literal rendering.

The perfect is often correctly rendered, as in John xx, 29; Acts xxi, 28; and in 1 John v, 9; but there is no little caprice in the varying translations.

While the aorist is sometimes and necessarily rendered by the perfect, the Greek perfect is sometimes translated by the English present when a present state is specially described. It may be rendered by "is," as well as "has," in John iii, 18, "is" or "has been condemned"; John vii, 8, "my time is not

yet," or has not yet fully "come," "is" being used with this verb in our version; or 1 John iv, 12, "his love is perfected," or "has been perfected in us"; Heb. v, 12, "are become" or "have become." Rom. iv, 14, "faith is" or "has been made void." Matt. xxv, 6, "a cry is raised,"—the Greek perfect puts it in a graphic form. Compare John vii, 52. Matt. viii, 6, "my servant lieth," has been laid up; Matt. x, 30, "the hairs of your head are numbered"; also Rom. xiv, 23, "is condemned," he is under a sentence pronounced upon him in the moment of his eating, and he lies under it still. But the true translation is not to be departed from lightly. The better reading in Matt. vi, 12, warrants the translation, "as we have forgiven our debtors." Luke xiii, 2, "sinners above all sinners," because they have suffered such things. In Mark xi, 2, the translation ought to be, "whereon no man hath yet sat," past and present connected. Luke xi, 7, "the door has been shut" for the night. The proper rendering should have been kept in John iv, 38, "whereon ye have bestowed no labour." How vivid in John v, 33, when the perfect is not treated as an aorist, "ye have sent unto John, and he has borne witness unto the truth," the proper rendering being given in 37, but weakened by treating the initial aorist as a perfect. John v, 45, "Moses in whom ye have hoped." Compare 2 Cor. i, 10; 1 Tim. vi, 17. John viii, 33, "We have never been in bondage to any man"; vii, 19, "Hath not Moses given you the law?" and 22, "Moses hath given you circumcision"; Heb. xi, 3, "things which are seen have not been made of things which do appear"; 5, "before his translation it hath been witnessed of him," namely, in Gen. v, 22; 1 Cor. vii, 10, "unto them who have been married"; 1 John iv, 9, "because God hath sent his only begotten Son"; 2 Peter ii, 6, "having turned," not turning, "unto ashes the cities . . . . having made them an ensample." 2 Tim. iv, 8, "all them who have loved his appearing," that is, loved, and still love it; John xi, 27, "I have believed that thou art the Christ," from a past time to the present; xvii, 6, 10, "I have been glorified in them," the glorification existing before the present, and reaching down to it. It is to be noted in v, 8,

that while the perfect is ignored in the latter part of the first clause, and rendered as if it had been an aorist, "which thou gavest me," the aorist is ignored in the next clause, and rendered as if a perfect, "and have known surely." Gal. ii, 20, "I have been crucified with Christ"; iii, 17, "a covenant which hath been confirmed by God." The perfect participle cannot well be translated as such in Heb. v, 14, the meaning being that their organs of sense have been well exercised, and still retain the acuteness or susceptibility resulting from such training.

While the participle is almost necessarily rendered as a pluperfect in John xii, 1, "who had been dead,"[1] the pluperfect meaning is lost in Luke xvi, 20, "a beggar who had been laid at his gate"—with the purpose of getting some crumbs. The aorist might bear to be rendered by the pluperfect when the occurrence is viewed as a past event, which has at the same time a reference to another past event. Acts i, 2, the Greek is literally "the apostles whom he chose"—but English idiom might prefer "whom he had chosen"—the choice being prior to the charge and connected with it. Philip. iii, 12, the aorist is rendered by the pluperfect, "not as though I had already attained," and the perfect coming after is not formally translated. The pluperfect translation is unneeded in Matt. xi, 1, 2, or if it is necessary in the first verse, it is not required in the second; nor is it required in Matt. xxv, 16, 17, 18, 20, in which places the simple past is sufficient and correct, but the rendering is pluperfect in the Authorized Version, so that the distinction is lost between it and the perfect in verse 24, "he that has received the one talent" got it and still had it unused and alone. The pluperfect occurs in Acts iv, 22, and should have been fully translated, "on whom this miracle had been done." Nor is it properly rendered in Luke xi, 22, where it should be "armour wherein he had trusted." In Heb. xi, 28, the perfect occurs in the midst of a succession of aorists, and has its own meaning, "by faith Moses refused . . . . left Egypt . . . . went through the Red Sea" . . . . but "kept the passover" is in

[1] But ὁ τεθνηκώς is not genuine, being one of the explanatory clauses so often thrown in by scribes.

the perfect tense—that is, he founded an ordinance which still endures. The perfect participle is used of Christ's violent death as if to assert its enduring effects, as in 1 Cor. i, 23, "we preach Christ crucified" in the abiding character of the Crucified; Gal. iii, 1, where the position of the word might help the true rendering, and sense. Compare 2 Tim. ii, 8. In two passages resembling one another the aorist and perfect occur and the distinction is effaced: John i, 3, which should be "without him was not anything made which hath been made"; Col. i, 16, which should be, "by him were all things created . . . all things have been created by him and for him." Rev. v, 7, "came and took the book," literally "has taken and holds it while its seals are broken." But the perfect is ever instructive: Luke xiv, 10, "he that bade thee," should be, "he hath bidden thee." Similarly are perfects used in Heb. ii, 9; iv, 15. In fact this epistle is characterized by the use of perfects; and such a frequent use of them on the part of the author would seem to indicate that they may not be at all times employed in their distinctive significance, and they cannot be always represented in English. Heb. vii, 6, "he paid," has paid to Abraham, and "has blessed" him that had the promises, acts of enduring prerogative; 14, "has" or "is sprung out of Judah"; 22, "is Jesus made" or "has been made"; ix, 13, "sprinkling such as have become unclean." The perfect is rendered inconsistently in vii, 13, in one clause by a present, and in the other by the simple past, and similarly in the following verse. In xii, 27, the rendering might be, "things that are shaken as of things that have been made." There is no small loss to the English reader in the obliteration of the perfect in John i, 32, where the rendering should be, "I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove," and in 33, "I have seen and have borne witness that this is the Son of God." The perfect participle preceded by the article occurs in Acts iv, 12, and in 14; but the translation varies—in the one case the rendering is "is given," in the other "was healed," none of them quite exact.

The imperfect tense, as its name denotes, represents an action begun and not completed, or one purposed, desired,

menaced, but not accomplished, an action repeated from time to time, with other shades of past relation.[1] But it cannot in every case be distinctly given in an English translation; and in the Authorized Version it is rendered and misrendered in various ways. On such points the MSS. differ often, and, as may be expected, aorists and imperfects often present various readings. It depends on the writer's choice which tense to employ—whether he means to describe the act as transient or as continuing. Some verbs too usually occur in the imperfect when an aorist would be expected. Such imperfects cannot well be fully rendered in English, as those in 1 Cor. xiii, 11, "when I was a child I spake as a child," that is, during all that period; Matt. xiii, 34, "without a parable spake he not unto them"; parabolic teaching being his wont from that period onward. The imperfect might be sometimes given by help of the auxiliary verb instead of the simple past: Luke xiv, 7, "he marked how they were choosing out the chief rooms"; xxiv, 32, "did not our heart burn within us while he was talking by the way"; Acts viii, 36, "as they were going on their way, they came unto a certain water"; Acts x, 17, "while Peter was doubting in himself"; Acts iii, 1, "Now Peter and John were going up into the temple." In some other cases a circumlocution might be pardoned, as Matt. iii, 14, "John would have hindered him;" Luke i, 59, the meaning is not "they called him Zacharias"—which is not fact, for they were interrupted—but "they were for calling him Zacharias"; Luke v, 6, "they inclosed a great multitude of fishes and the net brake," rather, the "net was like to break"; Mark xiv, 12, "were wont to kill the passover"; Luke iv, 42, "would have stayed him"; Matt. xxi, 9, "were crying Hosanna," that is, "kept crying it," John xii, 13; Mark xv, 6, the right rendering is not "at that feast he released unto them one prisoner," but "at that feast he was wont to release one prisoner."

When the imperfect and aorist occur together, our version sometimes fails to distinguish them: 1 Cor. x, 4, "they did all

[1] Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 78, Oxford, 1874—a book of remarkable acuteness and clearness.

drink of the same spiritual drink"—a mere historical reference; but the apostle adds, in proof and explanation, "for they were drinking (during the journey) out of the spiritual rock which followed them"; Luke viii, 23, "there came down a storm upon the lake and they were filled," rather, "were filling, and were (or began to be) in jeopardy"; James ii, 22, "Seest thou how faith was working with his works, and by his works his faith was perfected,"—a process presented to the reader's eye by the first verb. The English version of Matt. xxi, 8, might distinguish the act of the first clause told by the aorist, "spread their garments," from the acts of the two next clauses told by imperfects, "others were cutting down branches from the trees and were strewing them in the way"; John iv, 30, should be, "went out of the city, and were coming unto him"; vii, 14, "Jesus went up . . . . and was teaching."

No attempt is made in many cases to distinguish imperfects, even in cases where the sense requires it, where English idiom allows it to be easily done, and where the context distinctly contradicts the aorist translation. But to make the distinction without a paraphrase is often difficult, if not impossible, however clear the sense may be. Thus, Heb. xi, 17, "by faith Abraham, when tried, hath offered up Isaac," the perfect marks the patriarch's settled purpose, his faith viewed the act as over; but the imperfect occurs in the next clause, and means "and he that received the promises was offering up his only begotten," when the angel of the Lord intercepted the stroke. The imperfect is rightly rendered in Rom. ix, 23; Acts vii, 26, though the idiom is peculiar.

No one can doubt that the Greek present should be preserved in our English translation wherever it is possible, even in cases where it occurs as the result of the mingling of the *oratio recta* with the *oratio obliqua*. The present gives often a vivid and picturesque character to the style, and is especially natural when the narrator "testifies what he has seen." Matt. xxi, 13, according to the better reading, "but ye make," or "are making it," "a den of robbers"—that is, doing so at the moment. But it often fades out in the Authorized

Version, Matt. xxv, 8, "our lamps are gone out," with the true rendering in the margin, "are going out." In the third chapter of Matthew we have the common inconsistency, giving the wrong translation in iii, 1, "In those days came John the Baptist," and the right one of the same phrase in verse 13, "then cometh Jesus from Galilee"; Gal. iv, 10, "ye are observing days"; Heb xi, 13, "confessed that they are strangers"; Mark viii, 23, "asked him if he seeth any thing," or asked him "seest thou aught?" Luke xix, 3, "and was seeking to see Jesus who he is, and could not," rendered in our version, "who he was"; yet in John i, 19, we have "sent . . . . to ask him, Who art thou?" Mark v, 14, "went out to see what it is that has taken place," not, perhaps, good English, nor would "are casting," in Mark xii, 41; John iv, 1, "the Pharisees heard that Jesus is making and baptizing more disciples than John," the form of the rumour as it passed from one person to another; xv, 47, "beheld where he is laid"; John v, 13, "wist not who it is"; 15, "told the Jews that it is Jesus who made him whole"; vi, 24, "Jesus is not there"; 64, "who they are that believed not," and "who he is that shall betray." Such literalness might not be tolerated, but the usage is frequent in the New Testament. 1 Cor. xi, 30, might be, not "and many sleep," but "many are falling asleep," the divine judgment was still inflicting itself; John i, 15, "John bears witness of him, and has cried, saying,"—"bare witness" in the Authorized Version; while the proper rendering is given in 29, 43, 45, &c.; Heb. ii, 16, "he taketh not on him the nature of angels," or, "for in truth it is not angels that he helpeth"; Rev. xii, 2, "she being in pain crieth."

The frequent use of the present tense characterizes the Gospel of Mark, and it is also found again and again in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There are many perfects in Heb. vii, and quite in harmony there are not a few presents. The present is used in the eighth chapter to portray sacerdotal service as if it still existed, 3, "is ordained," "priests that offer," "who are serving." In chapter ix, 6, the present is employed, but it is given in our version in the past, "the

priests went always in," and went is repeated in italics in the next verse. The present is rendered, "which he offered"; a double error is carried into verse 9, "in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices that could not make perfect." The writer pictures "the time then present"—the service, as if it were going on—priests as if in the act of entering in and offering.

When the present indicates something to be found true in time to come, there is no reason to give it a future rendering, as is done in Matt. xvii, 11, "Elias truly shall first come," but, "Elijah truly cometh, and he shall restore all things." The rendering is wrong in Matt. xxiv, 40, 41, "one shall be taken"; but "one is taken, one is left"; the future is used in Luke xvii, 34. In John xvi, 14, 15, there is confusion in the rendering—in the first verse it is right, "he shall take of the things that are mine"; but in the second verse it is wrong, for the present is used, "therefore said I, that he taketh of mine, and shall show it unto you." Similarly, John vii, 41, "Doth the Christ come out of Galilee?" John xv, 27, "and ye also bear," not "shall bear witness." So in Matt. xxvii, 63, the true rendering is the more vivid, "after three days I rise again," or "I am raised again." John xxi, 23, "that disciple does not die"; and in Gal. iii, 8, "the Scripture foreseeing that God justifies the heathen," the ethical present, a fact true, and always true of the divine method of justification. It might be difficult to translate the present participle as describing Judas while his treachery was going on, and to distinguish it from the aorist as applied to him in the earlier part of the Gospels. The present is, however, rendered in Matt. xxvi, 46, as "he that betrayed him"; and in xxvii, 3, "which had betrayed him"; but in verses 25 and 48, "which betrayed him." In Mark xiv, 42, the rendering is of necessity correct, "he that betrayeth me"; but in 44 it relapses into the past; is correct again in Luke xxii, 21, 22; but stands in John xiii, 11, "who should betray him," the past being given in xviii, 2, 5; but the present again in John xxi, 20, "Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?"

Our translators sometimes take the future as an imperative

when there is no cause for it: Matt. v, 48, "ye shall therefore be perfect"; and sometimes for a wish, as 2 John 3, when the true rendering is found in the margin, "Grace shall be with you." The proper rendering in 1 Tim. vi, 8, is not imperative, "but if, having food and raiment, we will be content therewith," as indeed might be expected of us believers who are laying hold of eternal life.

Some moods of the present cannot always be distinguished in translation from those of the aorist. Thus in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi, 11, the aorist imperative is used, "give us this day"; but in Luke xi, 3, the present imperative occurs. In 1 John iii, 9, the words are, "he cannot sin," or, literally, "he is not able to sin," the infinitive present being employed, and the sense being that he is not able to be sinning, or to persist in a sinful course; but the aorist infinitive might have meant that he is not able to sin in a single instance. The aorist subjunctive is used in 1 John ii, 1, and the proper translation is not "if any man sin," but "if any man have sinned."

Many peculiarities in the use of verbal words, and of the middle voice, cannot be glanced at.

The two Greek verbs which differ, as "become," and "be," are often confounded in the English version. The first verb seems to have nearly always its proper meaning, though in every case English idiom will not bear its translation. Thus, in Matt. viii, 26—it cannot well be said, "there became a great calm," that is, a great calm ensued; and yet in 24, we have the good rendering, "there arose a great tempest"; John i, 6, might be, "there arose a man." In Matt. xv, 28, we cannot well say, "become it unto thee," though a change is implied. In Matt. xiv, 15, the rendering is, "when it was evening"; and in 23, there is the better rendering, "when the evening was come." In 1 Cor. iii, 18, "become" is given in the first clause, and, for no visible reason, "be" is given in the second. The verb is rendered "came to pass," or "come to pass" over forty times in Luke; it is also rendered "made" or "done," "fulfilled," "arose," "ariseth," "came," "performed," "brought to pass," "turned into," and all these are better than the simple verb of existence so often

employed. Once it is wrongly rendered "seemeth," "seemeth good," Matt. xi, 26; once the past participle is also wrongly rendered "ended," John xiii, 2; once the rendering is "continued," Acts xix, 10; once "behaved ourselves," 1 Thess. ii, 10; once "which was published," Acts x, 37, and once "being assembled," Acts, xv, 25. The translation in such places was dictated by the sense. Our translators have employed the right rendering, so truly and happily, in so many cases, that the wonder is that they did not make an effort to carry it out consistently. In fact, in many clauses, if we add the syllable "come" or "came" to their "be," we have the correct translation. There are very many examples, and only a few can be given: Matt. v, 45, "that ye may be-come the children of your father"; Matt. xvii, 2, "his garment be-came white as the light"; Mark x, 43, "whosoever will be-come great among you," and similarly in iii, 44; Luke vi, 36, "be-come ye therefore merciful"; xx, 14, "that the inheritance may be-come ours"; John iv, 14, "shall be-come in him a well of water"; ix, 27, "will ye also be-come his disciples"; Acts i, 20, "let his habitation be-come desolate"; Rom. xii, 16, "be-come not wise in your own conceits"; 1 Cor. iii, 18, "let him become a fool that he may be-come wise"; x, 7, "neither be-come ye idolaters"; Galat. iv, 12, "be-come as I am"; Philip. ii, 15, "that ye may be-come blameless"; Heb. ii, 17, "that ye might be-come a merciful and faithful high priest"; 1 Peter, i, 15, "be-come ye holy," and 16; 2 Peter i, 4, "that by these ye might be-come partakers of a divine nature." Other instances might be adduced: Matt. xii, 45, "the last state of that man becometh worse"; Luke vi, 16, "Judas Iscariot," not "which was also the traitor," but "who became or turned out to be a traitor"; Acts iv, 4, "and the number of the men became (or rose to) about five thousand," the three thousand of Pentecost being included; Acts xv, 39, "the contention became so sharp"; Rom. xi, 6, "otherwise grace becomes no more grace"; Gal. iii, 24, "the law is become our schoolmaster unto Christ."

The rendering "become" or "became" suits in some cases better than "was made." John 1, 14, "the Word became

flesh"; viii, 33, "ye shall become free." Ephes. iii, 7, "whereof I became a minister." This correct translation is given in many places, as James ii, 4, "are become judges of evil thoughts"; 11, "thou art become a transgressor"; but in the intermediate verse the wrong rendering occurs, "he is" for "becomes guilty of all." In 1 Cor. vii, 21, the rendering is, "if thou mayest be made free"; and that of 23 should have been in harmony, "be ye not made the servants of men"; better in both cases, "if thou mayest become free," "become not ye the servants of men." The passive form, which rarely occurs, is found not less than eight times in the first and second chapters of 1st Thessalonians.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE technical name "preposition" tells nothing of the nature and uses of such particles. They may not be employed in the New Testament with all the precision of the age of Pericles, yet their distinctive signification is ever to be closely attended to. The phase of relation indicated by those which have a general similarity of sense cannot be always preserved in an English translation.[1] These meanings are often shaded off the one into the other; it is but a delicate line that divides them. English prepositions have also in the same way a variety of uses closely connected with one another. Still a true translation of these important particles is of primary moment. The Authorized Version is faithful on the whole, but it has, as usual, startling deviations, and several inaccuracies.

No one will maintain that the first of these[2] should be always rendered by "in," since, with a local sense, it may be rendered "at" as well as "in"; "in Bethany," or "at Ephesus," "in" or "at Jerusalem," and in a temporal sense by "at" or "on," "at his coming." After words implying an oath, it is rendered "by," "by heaven," and so when it has an instrumental or modal sense, "by what authority?" or "with what measure." It is translated "among," referring to a crowd or mass of people, and "within," as in the phrase "within yourselves." English idiom may require some of these changes, though the radical idea always underlies them, so that the literal rendering

[1] As ἐκ and ἀπό—περί and ὑπέρ—μετά and σύν—εἰς and πρός with the accusative.

[2] ἐν.

might be kept in many places, as in Rom. xii, 8, "he that giveth, let him give in simplicity, he that ruleth in diligence, he that showeth mercy in cheerfulness." "Through" is not the proper translation of Rom. iii, 25, but "in," "in the forbearance of God"; nor in Acts iv, 2, which should be, "and preached in Jesus the resurrection of the dead," in Jesus its proof and a living specimen of it. The utterance of Peter on healing the lame man was, "in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk"; and when the apostle was arrested and brought before the Sanhedrim, the question was put to him, "in what name did ye do this," and his answer naturally is, "in the name of Jesus Christ." Mark xiv, 27, it should be "offended in me," not "because of me," the first rendering being found in Matt. xi, 6. In Luke xi, 15-20, we have those renderings varied for no purpose—"through Beelzebub," 15, 18; "by Beelzebub," "by whom," 19; "with the finger of God," 20. In 2 Cor. vii, 4, the rendering is "with" in the one clause and "in" in the other. In 1 Cor. vi, 11, the first clause has "in" and the second "by." In 2 Cor. vi, 4, four nouns are preceded by "in," and six in 5, but in 6, 7, "by" is adopted before eight substantives, and as the Greek preposition is changed in 7, 8, and is also rightly translated "by," the distinction is obliterated to the English reader. Luke x, 17, should be "in thy name." John xvii, 17, "in thy truth"; xx, 31, "in his name." Compare also Luke xi, 19. Rom. vi, 11, "through Jesus Christ our Lord," and in 23; xv, 17, "I may glory through Jesus Christ," Gal. v, 10, "confidence in you through the Lord." Ephes. ii, 7, "his kindness toward us through Jesus Christ," &c.; iv, 32, "for Christ's sake." In those and other places, the rendering is that which rightfully belongs to another preposition, which is often employed to designate a special aspect of Christ's mediatorial work—in Him and through Him being quite distinct, but both ideas being presented in close connection in Ephes. i, 7. Similar remarks apply to the rendering "by" in Rom. xiv, 14; 1 Cor. vii, 14; Gal. ii, 17; 1 Thess. iv, 1.[1]

[1] ἐν should, if possible, be so rendered that the phrase may not seem to be a simple dative.

In the Authorized Version there are also other needless variations. 1 Thess. iv, 7, "God called us not unto uncleanness, but unto holiness," the last clause being "in holiness." Similarly the proper distinction might be preserved in Matt. vi, 10; in xxviii, 18, and should be "in heaven and on earth"; and also Rev. v, 3. This preposition is also used in the succession of clauses in 2 Peter i, 5-7, and was properly rendered by Tyndale. The use of "to" makes the series a mere accumulation, but "in" implies that they spring out of one another in organic development. 1 Cor. vii, 15, "but God hath called us to peace," "in peace" being placed in the margin as the true representative of the Greek. In 1 Cor. xiv, 11, the meaning is lost, "I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian," the simple dative being employed, but in the next clause, which is rendered similarly, the preposition is used, "and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me," in my opinion or experience. The misrendering of the prayer of the penitent robber in Luke xxiii, 42, is more serious, the true translation being "Lord, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom,"—in the full enjoyment of thy power and prerogative. Compare Matt. xxvi, 31.

The various meanings of another preposition[1]—literal and tropical, instrumental, local, temporal, and ideal, are closely connected. But there is, as has been often noted, a marked distinction in sense or relation between it as followed by a genitive when it means "through," and as followed by an accusative when it means "on account of." "Through," indicating the instrument, is a rendering preferable in many cases to "by," which might denote the agent, Matt. xxvi, 24, "the things done through his body," 2 Cor. v, 10, it being the instrument. Compare specially 1 Thess. iv, 14, "Them also which sleep through Jesus." Sometimes this rendering "through" cannot well be preserved in English, as in the phrase Matt. iv, 4, "every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," where "through the mouth of God" would not be very appropriate. In 2 Tim. ii, 2, we have the inadequate rendering "the things that thou hast heard among many witnesses," the

[1] διά.

better rendering "by" being put into the margin; Heb. vii, 9, presents the rendering "Levi paid tithes in," instead of "through Abraham." The force of the preposition is lost in 2 Peter i, 3, "that hath called us to glory and virtue," the proper rendering "by" being relegated to the margin—a translation, also, that suits the instrumental dative, which is probably the correct reading. But many variations are unaccountable. Its usual sense with the accusative—"because of," "by reason of," "for. . . . sake," as "Christ's sake," "your sake,"—is sometimes departed from. In Heb. ii, 9, the wrong rendering "by" is put into the margin, the text retaining "for," that is, "on account of"; but there is so little steadiness, that in vi, 7, the wrong "by" is kept in the text, and the right "for" put in the margin; and the same is done in Rom. viii, 11, "by" in the text and "because of" in the margin. In Rom. xv, 30, the rendering is such as belongs to the preposition with an accusative, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake," where it ought to be "by the Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit." In 1 Cor. vii, 2, where there is exegesis, "to avoid fornication," instead of "on account of fornication"—that is, its prevalence, and the temptations to it, suggested the form of the counsel, verse 5. John xv, 3, "now ye are clean," not "through," but by "reason of" "the words which I have spoken unto you." A worse departure is made in 2 Pet. iii, 12, "the coming of the day of God wherein," and without any marginal alternative—the correct rendering being "the coming of the day of the Lord 'by reason of which' the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved." The real allusion is not presented in Rev. xii, 11, "wherein they overcame him,"—the translation might be, "they overcame him because of the blood of the lamb." The phrase "for the remission of sins," in Rom. iii, 25, should be "on account of the prætermission of sins." In Rev. xiii, 14, the Authorized Version has "by means of those miracles"—whereas it should be "because of the signs it was given him to do." It is to be noted that the words "the means of" are now printed in italics, as if to show that the original did not warrant the translation; but the italics are not in the first edition of 1611; they appear in a Cambridge

edition of 1637, and in Buck and Daniel's folio of the following year.

Uniformity of translation is kept where the particle is repeated: in Rom. xi, 28, "for your sakes," "for the fathers' sakes." On the other hand, in Rom. xiv, 15, the rendering "with thy meat," should be "for the sake of thy meat," and the more so that "with thy meat" in the next clause represents the simple dative.

The many shades of relation indicated by a third preposition[1] need not be enumerated. Only it may be noted that, in some cases, it must be rendered by "in," previous motion being implied, the same tendency being found in classic Greek: as in Matt. ii, 23; Mark ii, 1; John ix, 7; Mark i, 9; Luke xi, 7, "my children are with me in bed"; Matt. x, 9, "money in your purses"; Luke ix, 61; Luke vii, 50, "go in peace,"—into peace. Compare Mark xiii, 9. But there are several variable renderings, as when it is translated "throughout," "throughout all Syria," Matt. iv, 24; Mark i, 28, 39; or "among," Mark iv, 7, xiii, 10; or "concerning," 2 Cor. viii, 23; or "before," in James ii, 6. Perhaps "against" is too strong, though the clause implies it, Mark iii, 29; or, in Luke vii, 30, "against themselves," where the margin has "within themselves," though "against that day" is a good idiomatic version, 2 Tim. i, 12. There was no pressing reason why, in Acts i, 10, 11, it should be rendered "toward" in the one verse and "into" in the other. It occurs in the phrase rendered "swear not, neither by Jerusalem,"—that is, probably, looking toward it, or on it, and taking the oath in that attitude. It is idiomatically rendered with its substantive in Romans x, 1, "that they may be saved,"—that salvation being the aim or end of his "heart's desire,"—the phrase being rendered "unto salvation" in 1 Pet. i, 5. "Baptized into Christ" is the correct rendering in Gal. iii, 27, Rom. vi, 3, and the rendering should have been kept when

[1] εἰς. Πιστεύω may be followed by a simple dative, or by a dative with ἐν or ἐπί, or by a simple accusative, or by an accusative with εἰς or ἐπί, and in all these forms a distinctive shade of relation is expressed.

what is equivalent to a person follows the verb, as in Matt. xxviii, 19, "baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"—"in the name" being inadequate here, in Acts viii, 16, and in 1 Cor. x, 2, "were all baptized into Moses," it being ideal, typical, and national baptism; and, in Acts xix, 5, where the "unto," employed both in the question and answer in verse 3, might have suggested "into." The point of the Apostle's challenge is lost in 1 Cor. i, 13, 15, by the same rendering. His question is, "were ye baptized into the name of Paul? lest any should say that I had baptized into mine own name,"—"in mine own name" would simply mean "by my own authority." This preposition should have kept its proper significance in Luke xvi, 8, "wiser" not "in their own generation," but "toward" or "in the interest of their generation." 1 Pet. i, 11, "the sufferings of Christ,"—"the sufferings to come upon Christ,"—though a literal translation, would be awkward; Acts vii, 53, "who received the law," not "by," but "at" the enactment "of angels,"—the preposition bearing a similar meaning in Matt. xii, 41, "at the preaching of Jonas," and in 2 Tim. ii, 26. The translation in John xi, 52, should be "might gather together into one." Compare 2 Cor. xi, 3.

Of the two prepositions[1] rendered "out," or "from," the one refers to a previous closer union, Matt. xxii, 37, and the other is more general, Matt. xxiv, 32, "learn ye a parable from the fig tree." Care should be taken that the translation cannot be mistaken for that of a mere genitive.

Two prepositions[2] are often all but identical in signification. The first is mistranslated in 2 Thess. ii, 1, where our version reads "by," as if the verse were a species of adjuration by the second advent, the sense being "on behalf of." It is to be noted that this is the only place in the New Testament where the preposition is so rendered, and there is not even a marginal alternative. It is the reading, however, of all the older versions, and was used by Wycliffe for the Latin *per*. Such a rendering is possible, but out of all harmony with the construction of the passage.

[1] ἐκ and ἀπό. [2] ὑπέρ and περί.

The second preposition has much the same sense with the first in some cases, and it is impossible to keep them distinct in English. To pray about a person is to pray for him, and the idiomatic rendering is "for . . . . sake," for his body's sake, for Christ's sake. "About" or "concerning" would represent it better in many places—Matt. vi, 28, "and why are ye anxious concerning raiment," and in many other places.

Another preposition,[1] with the genitive, might be generally rendered "by," but, in the great majority of instances, it is rendered "of" in the Authorized Version. There is usually no ambiguity in such an archaism, as in the phrases "baptized of him," "hated of all men," "tempted of Satan"; but there are cases presenting ambiguity to a plain reader—Matt. xix, 12, "made eunuchs of men"; Luke ix, 7, 8, "and said of some."[2] But in many instances the favourite old rendering "of" need not be disturbed. In Acts x, 22, it is rendered "among" in the one clause, and "by" in the other. On the other hand, "of" occurs twice in Rom. xiii, 1, representing two different Greek prepositions—"there is no power but from God . . . . ordained by God."

The English "on," rather than "in," is the better representative of another preposition,[3] in many places, as in Matt. iv, 6, "on their hands they shall bear thee up"; xii, 28, "then is the kingdom of God come upon you"; xiii, 7, "on thorns," as in verse 5, "upon stony places," and in 8 it ought again to be "upon the good ground"; xiv, 8, 11, "upon a charger"; Matt. xxv, 31, "the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory" (as in xix, 28, "ye also shall sit upon thrones"); xxiii, 2, "sit on Moses' seat"; Mark vi, 55, "to carry about on beds." But there was no reason to vary the rendering of the particle in the same connection in Acts x, 17, and xi, 11, "before the gate" in the first instance, and "come unto the house" in the second.

Another preposition[4] is sometimes rendered "to" as well as

[1] ὑπό.

[2] See page 242, &c., and page 365.

[3] ἐπί.

[4] πρός is almost always used with the accusative — it is difficult to give it such a translation as shall show its difference from εἰς, or the simple dative.

"unto," though "unto" might, if possible, be reserved for it in such cases. But the preposition has other senses—"with," "toward," "according to," "before,—and, as edged by the context, it passes in result to the sense of "against," the Authorized Version rendering "against," Mark xii, 12, the sense being that conveyed by the familiar phrase, "spake this parable at them." [1]

[1] The conjunctions ὅπως and ἵνα often approach in meaning; and ἵνα sometimes, especially as prefixed to a prayer, embodies purport as well as purpose (Eph. iii, 16, &c.) But why vary the rendering of ἵνα in the same verse, John iii, 17, translating it like an infinitive in the first clause, and in the second clause by the fuller form "that . . . . might"?

CHAPTER LVII.

THE second rule given to the revisers appointed after the Hampton Court Conference, was, "the names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained, as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used."

Acting on these instructions, they were not at liberty to transcribe into English letters all the old Hebrew names, for several of them had been naturalized in other forms. As many of the names of the Old Testament are repeated in the New Testament, the remarks in this chapter must comprise allusions to the names used in the Hebrew Scriptures. The most familiar forms were wisely employed—such as Mary, Eve, Saul, James, John, Jude. To have reproduced such names in full Hebrew or Greek syllables would have been a cumbrous and pedantic literality. They employ Cyrus for Corish, Darius for Daryavesh, Egypt for Mitzraim, and, as Canon Lightfoot says, they used "the more familiar Latin names" of the idol-gods for the less familiar Greek ones, Diana for Artemis, Jupiter for Zeus, and Mercury for Hermes. In this last case, however, there was error, for the gods of the Latin name were different in function, character, and attributes from those of the Greek name. At the same time, many names had become disguised in the Greek and Latin Old Testament, such as Abdias for Obadiah, Oza for Uzzah, Roboam for Rehoboam, Ochosias for Ahaziah, and they usually appear in that shape in the early translation of Coverdale. The translators represent Jehovah by "LORD" printed in small capitals. It is all but impossible to say what is the

true pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton; but the word Jehovah is quite familiar to all readers of the English Bible, and its uniform use would prevent some confusion of reference.[1] It is employed in composition with other significant terms—like Jehovah-Nissi—Shalom; but it occurs only four times by itself, and in one of the instances its use could not be avoided—Exod. vi, 3, "by my name Jehovah was I not known to them." Ps. lxxxiii, 18, "whose name alone is Jehovah." But Moses is commanded to tell the people that the Name was Jehovah; and the full sense is lost in many phrases, which should be, Jehovah the God of Shem, Jehovah the God of Abraham. "If Jehovah be God, follow him"; "Jehovah he is the God," or in the xix Psalm, "the heavens declare the glory of Elohim, but the law of Jehovah is perfect." The solemn collocation, Isa. xii, 2, of Jah-Jehovah, becomes the "Lord-Jehovah"; and in xxvi, 4. But another form, Adonai Jehovah, is often wrongly rendered, as in Ezek. v, 11, "Lord God." The Hebrew tongue was very rich in terms expressive of religious emotion and truth.[2] While no one would think, in the case of James, Mary, and Jesus, of going back to the Old Testament and substituting Jacob, Miriam, and Joshua; it would in many instances serve the purpose of identification, to carry forward the spelling of the Old Testament into the New, to suppress Elias and preserve Elijah, to give Kish for Cis, Jonah for Jonas, Sharon for Saron, Elisha for Eliseus, Korah for Core, Noah for Noe, Midian for Madian, Zebulon for Zabulon, and Napthali for Nephthalim, Hosea for Osee, and Joshua for Jesus in Acts vii, 45, and Hebrews iv, 8. It is painful to read, "Sem, which was the son of Noe"; and whoever quotes Charran, or Chanaan, or Enos, or Esaias, or Jeremy, or Agar, or Sodoma, or Jephthae, though these names occur in the New Testament?

The rule, then, commends itself, to use the forms best known or to take them from the original as nearly as possible, and to

[1] The reader will find a good discussion on the pronunciation of the sacred name, by Russell Martineau, M.A., in an Appendix to the second volume of his "Translation of Ewald's History of Israel." London, 1869.

[2] See pp. 386, 387.

preserve, save in a few hallowed instances, the same spelling of proper names in the New Testament as occurs in the Old. But there are many capricious exceptions found in our version. Often we find two forms of a name—as Asshur seven times, and Assyria over twenty-five, and the alteration often occurs in the same book. It is uniformly Assyria in 2 Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and in the minor prophets after Hosea; while in Ezekiel both forms are given, and in Hosea Asshur is used once and Assyria four times. It is odd that the form is Tyre in all the books up to Jeremiah, and the same in Joel iii, 4, but otherwise it is Tyrus in the Old Testament. Both spellings—Zidon and Sidon, Zidonians and Sidonians —occur in the Old Testament, and we have, Gen. x, 15, "Canaan begat Sidon," and in 1 Chron. i, 13, "Canaan begat Zidon." Grecia occurs in Daniel only, Greece in Zechariah; Grecians is found in Joel, and in Acts meaning Hellenists, and Greeks everywhere else in the New Testament. Edom is common throughout the Old Testament, and Idumea is used four times in Isaiah and Ezekiel. Cush, the Hebrew name, occurs only in Isaiah xi, 11, and Ethiopia in all other places. Peculiar variations are found in the New Testament, not as apart from the Old Testament, but as within itself. One name is Timothy seven times, and Timotheus seventeen times; Timotheus always in the Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Philippians, and Thessalonians, and Timothy always in the epistles addressed to himself; nay, both names occur in one chapter (2 Cor. i). Jeremy and Jeremias are both found in Matthew. Silas and Silvanus both represent one person, the first form of which is uniformly used in the Acts, and the second in the Epistles. Sina stands in Acts, but Sinai in Galatians. The Apollos of the Acts becomes Apollo in 1 Cor. iii, 4-6, in the edition of 1611. The familiar name, Priscilla, of the Acts, Romans, and Corinthians, becomes Prisca in 2 Tim. iv, 19, but they had this reading in their Greek text. Cretes is the form in Acts ii, 11, and Cretians in Titus i, 12. In the course of the same argument the fourth son of Jacob is both Judah and Juda, Heb. vii, 14; viii, 8; and as the last is a quotation, the Old Testament spelling has been preserved. It is Judas in

the genealogy of Matthew; but Juda in that of Luke, and Jude is the name of the Apostle.[1] The archaic term Jewry, for Judea, is still found in Luke xxiii, 5, and in John vii, 1. It represents Judah in the Old Testament, Judea occurring only once in Ezra v, 8, but Jewry also only once in Dan. v, 13, in combination with Judah, the same word being represented by both, "Art thou Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, which the king my father brought out of Jewry?" (Judah). In a word, one name appears in many different forms—Joshua, Jehoshua, Jehoshuah, Hosea, Hoshea, Osee, Osea, Oseas, Oshea, Jeshuah, Jesus. Calvary, which occurs only in Luke xxiii, 33, is from the Calvaria of the Vulgate. Compare Matt. xxvii, 33; Mark xv, 22; John xix, 17. The name is Luke in Col. iv, 14, 2 Tim. iv, 11, and Lucas in the Epistle to Philemon, 24. It is always Mark in Acts, also in 2 Tim. iv, 11, but Marcus in Col. iv, 10, Philemon 24, 1 Peter v, 13. It is Noe five times in Matthew and Luke, but Noah three times in Hebrews and in 1 and 2 Peter. Simon, son of Jona, in John i, 42, and in the same Gospel, son of Jonas, xxi, 15; but the more probable reading for Jonas is John.

Urbane[2] is the name of a man (Rom. xvi, 9), for it represents Urbanus, but a final *e* was common in those days. A woman's name becomes Euodias (Philip. iv, 2), but Junia (Rom. xvi, 7), on account of the masculine epithet following, is probably to be taken as a man's name, Junias. Miletus (Acts xx, 15, 17) is Miletum in 2 Tim. iv, 20. Miletum, as Archbishop Trench has remarked, is a "singular mistake," and is inherited from the earlier versions. But with a portion of the verse corrected, the Bishops' has, "Erastus abode at Corinthum," and so Tyndale, Coverdale, and the Great Bible; but both the Genevan

[1] Keim, in his Life of Jesus, uses the form Nazara, but the Greek gives Nazareth, so familiar to us; Beliar, though found in Greek, will not supersede Belial, the old Hebrew form; Beelzeboul, is also found, though the common form occurs in the Old Testament, 2 Kings i, 2. It would be bold to change Sychar into Shechem, John iv, 5.

[2] Οὐρβανός.

editions present a suggestive difference, "Erastus abode at Corinthus."

Official names, that is, names of functionaries which have no parallel in modern times, are difficult to the translator. We have, in the New Testament, tetrarch naturalized, but ethnarch (2 Cor. xi, 32) is rendered governor—the ruler of a people, as the head of the Jews in Egypt, though it is applied also to Simon Maccabæus and to the chief magistrate of the Jews living in a foreign country under their own laws. Politarchs, the name given to the magistrates of Thessalonica,[1] Acts xvii, 6, 8, is rendered "rulers of the city." Asiarch occurs in Acts xix, 31, vaguely rendered "chief of Asia"; those Asiarchs, named from their province, presided over worship and sacred festivals. Though politarch and Asiarch had no chance, why should not ethnarch have been transferred as well as tetrarch, with an explanatory marginal note, especially as tetrarch did not keep the meaning implied in its composition—the ruler of a fourth part,—for it was simply the title of a governor in a Roman province. Herod and his brother were, by an imperial grant, made tetrarchs of Judea. Herod Antipas, called tetrarch in Matt. xiv, 1, is named king in the ninth verse of the same chapter. We have also chiliarch, hekatontarch, stratopedarch, the first rendered chief captain (Acts xxi, 31), the second centurion (32), and the third (Acts xxviii, 16) was the captain of the prætorian guard, but the clause may not be genuine. The same Greek title is given to Pilate, to Felix, and to Festus, and is rendered "governor,"—they were procurators exercising power in a small province. Another term, denoting pro-consul, the governor of a senatorial province, is rendered deputy, Acts xviii, 12. But the "magistrates" of Philippi (Acts xvi, 36) belonged to a different term, for it was a Roman colony and they were duumvirs, or prætors, attended by "sergeants" or lictors. It is not easy to get characteristic names in English for those various officers, though some distinction might be preserved. The "town clerk," such as he of Ephesus (Acts xix, 35), kept the archives

[1] On a surviving arch at Thessalonica, naming the magistrates, the term occurs.

and read the decrees in the public assemblies; the "chamberlain" of the city (Rom. xvi, 23) was the treasurer, fiscal-officer, or œconomus; the receiver of rents and revenues in such cities as Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, is still called chamberlain. Wycliffe has "tresorere," and the Rheims "cofferer."

Chaldee names are more easily transferred. Rab-mag, chief of the Magi; Rabshakeh, chief of the cup-bearers; the title of Nebu-shas-ban is Rab-saris, chief of the eunuchs—rendered "officer" in the text and "eunuch" in the margin. In Jer. xxxix, Nebuzar-adan is called "captain of the guard"—Rab-tabbachim, "chief of the executioners," as in the margin.

In a word, English plural forms are wrongly given to some Hebrew names, as cherubims, seraphims, Anakims. Ephod, phylactery, synagogue, sabbath, selah, Satan, rabbi, heresy, exorcist, remained untranslated.

CHAPTER LVIII.

SEVERAL gems, or precious stones, are also only transferred, and it is extremely difficult to distinguish or to identify them, so that the rendering is often mere conjecture.

The translators confess, with truth, in their Preface: "Againe, there be many rare names of certaine birds, beastes, and precious stones, &c., concerning which the Hebrewes themselves are so diuided among themselues for iudgement, that they may seeme to haue defined this or that, rather because they would say something, then because they were sure of that which they said." The eager and confident Hugh Broughton proposed that, in the work of translation, "embroiderers should help for terms about Aaron's ephod; geometricians, carpenters, masons, about the temples of Solomon and Ezekiel; and gardeners for all the boughs and branches of Ezekiel's trees, to match the variety of the Hebrew terms."

While pilgrims have in all ages been attracted to the Holy Land, it is to be regretted that the natural history of Palestine has been so little explored by them. Travellers bent on geographical identifications paid only a passing attention to shrubs and animals. Few had acquired the requisite qualifications, and many tourists could scarcely tell a swift from a swallow, a sparrow from a finch, a gazelle from a kid, an olive from an oleander, an oak from a terebinth, or a fig from a sycamore. Bochart's "Hierozoicon," the fruit of great labour and omnivorous research, abounds in erudite theories, happy fancies, and odd etymologies. Ursinus's "Arboretum" and Hillers's "Hierophyticon" are similar compilations, wonderful in learning. The "Hierobotanicon" of Olaus Celsius is a great

improvement, and the eight folio volumes of Scheuchzer's "Physica Sacra" are overwhelming in their vastness; while Hasselquist, Russell, and Forskal, are not to be forgotten. Attention may be invited to a little unpretending volume by Canon Tristram, "The Natural History of the Bible," London, 1868, 2nd ed. Canon Tristram himself is a distinguished naturalist, and he was accompanied on his tour by scientific investigators.

All genuine information about the country of its birth throws light upon Scripture, especially on the Old Testament in which the scenery, climate, and productions of that mountainous country are so often referred to by annalists and poets. The Land illustrates the Book, for it has stamped its own image upon it. Though it was but a small territory, yet it surpasses in renown every other region on the face of the earth—as the scene where the patriarchs wandered and Joshua gained his victories, where the Tabernacle with its Holy of holies stood, the priest instructing by Urim and Thummim, and the prophet pronouncing his oracles, where David reigned and sung, and Nebuchadnezzar inflicted such desolation, and where throughout all the centuries of its chequered existence the nation fondly clung to the hope of a promised Deliverer, where at length He appeared clothed in humanity and died on the cross, and whence has gone out an influence which is changing, elevating, and blessing the world. The country belonged to Asia, but it was on the confines of Europe and Africa. The fauna and flora of three great continents meet in it, and its summer splendour, its frosts and snows, its spring and autumn, its flocks and pastures, its vintage and harvest, supply imagery to a book designed for universal circulation. Its "dew of Hermon," "balm of Gilead," "rose of Sharon," "lily of the valley," and "swelling of Jordan," have been long naturalized among us. As its scenery ranged from dry deserts to wooded slopes, from palms to cedars, from the cliffs of Engedi to the snows of Lebanon, it was a miniature of the world, and the fitting centre from which light and hope were to radiate through all the earth. Canaan, the name so common in Scripture, was the ancient name of Phœnicia; and Palestine.

in our Old Testament, is simply what is now called Philistia.

There is not only no small uncertainty about the botany and zoology of Scripture, but the uncertainty becomes darker through the inconsistencies of the English translation. We can glance only at a very few examples. Satyr, dragon, cockatrice, and unicorn must disappear. In Isaiah xiii, 21, the version is, "and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there"; and in xxxiv, 14, "the satyr shall cry to his fellow." How could this mythological creature find its way into the English Bible, and that even without a marginal explanation? The "wild beasts of the desert," Isaiah xiii, 21, 22, has in the margin "Heb. Ziim," "owls" has "ostriches," "doleful creatures" has "Heb. Ochim," "and wild beasts of the island" has "Iim"; but the satyr has nothing appended to it either as to the original term or in explanation. It had appeared first in the Genevan translation, also without any note; the earlier versions having, "ostriches shall dwell there, and apes shall dance there." Goat is the ordinary meaning of the word; but in Lev. xvii, 7, 2 Chron. xi, 15, it represents some object of worship, rendered in our version "devils" in both places, the Septuagint giving "vain" or "false" "gods," and the Vulgate "demons," as also the Chaldee and the Syriac versions. But the Vulgate has "pilosi," "hairy ones" in Isaiah; Luther has "Feldgeister," and Calvin adopts "satyrs," not in any fabulous sense, but as actual appearances of the devil. In the last clause of the next verse the Vulgate has *sirenes*. Those objects of worship referred to no doubt had the form of wild goats, as in the Egyptian idolatry. The combined notion of demon and shaggy monster suggested satyrs or demons assuming such a shape—compare Rev. xviii, 2. Some writers would keep the true meaning of "wild shaggy goats" in harmony with the other animals in the dismal picture, ostriches, jackals, and wolves. The old Greek translator was sorely puzzled by the word Ziim, and he renders it by ass-centaurs. While the Authorized Version, as if in great doubt of the real meaning, puts Ziim and Ochim in the margin; the Genevan for the same reason keeps them untranslated in the

text (as Luther did), and inserts this note in the margin, "which were either wilde beasts or foules, or wicked spirits, whereby Satan deluded men as by the fairies, gobblins, and such like fantasies." In two cases the Hebrew terms have been simply transferred, Behemoth and Leviathan. Matthews' Bible introduced Behemoth, and in a note refers it to the elephant; and so the Bishops', with a note on "elephant, so called for his hugeness, by which may be understood the devil."

No one can identify many of the plants and animals, and their names need a very careful revision, but ignorance did not need to excuse itself by variety of rendering: "thistle," 2 Kings xiv, 9, is "thorn" in Prov. xxvi, 9; and "bramble" in Isaiah xxxiv, 13. "Owl" in Lev. xi, 16, Deut. xiv, 15, and often in Isaiah, becomes in the plural "ostriches," in Lam. iv, 3; and indeed the margin has "ostriches" in Job xxx, 29; "grasshopper" in Lev. xi, 22, is "locust" in 2 Chron. vii, 13; another term is "locust" throughout the Pentateuch, but "grasshopper" in Judges vi, 5, vii, 12, Jer. xlvi, 23. In these passages the image is that of numbers, and any one who has ever passed through a flight of locusts in Palestine must have a vivid idea of the interminable multitude, as it darkens the sky and presents the appearance of a broad-flaked snow storm, such as often falls in our month of February. The fabulous unicorn will pass out, Deut. xxxiii, 17. The name came from the Septuagint and Vulgate; but we read, "his horns are the horns of a reem," implying that the animal was not one-horned. It could not therefore be the rhinoceros, but the bison or urochs, the urus of Julius Cæsar. Behemoth may be the hippopotamus, and the leviathan the crocodile. The Hebrew term tzippor, occuring forty times, is only twice rendered sparrow, Ps. xxxiv, 4, cii, 7, and in all other places it is translated "bird," and five times "fowl," and that rightly, for it denotes any of the smaller birds. The term rendered "crane" is probably the swift (Isaiah xxxviii, 14), and the boys in Palestine call it still by the old name, Ziz. The song of birds is rarely alluded to; it is found in Ps. civ, 12, and the Song of Solomon ii, 12; but the Hebrew reads only "time of singing"—"of birds"

being supplied; and many suppose it to mean "time of pruning."

The "apple" was probably a citron, or rather an apricot. "Pannag," as in the Genevan and Bishops', is left untranslated in Ezekiel xxvii, 17. "Mustard seed" will remain in the parable till the plant, the image of rapid increase, be fully identified. "Spikenard," as a name, has no warrant in the Greek of Mark xiv, 3; it comes from the Vulgate, and its "*nardi spicati.*" In Canticles i, 12, iv, 13, 14, the Latin and Greek versions have simply "*nard.*" Tyndale has "ointment called *nardi*, pure and costly," the Rheims "precious spikenarde." "Spikenard" was introduced by the Genevan version. Our margin has "pure nard, or liquid nard." The Bishops' version, unable to make anything of the word, puts into its text "narde pistike," and the epithet may be a local or geographical word taken from the Indian district whence it was brought. Cedars, olives, figs, are well known; barley is everywhere; and as thorns and briars have been always abundant, the Hebrew has no less than eighteen words to express different kinds of them. The thorny nubk down near Jericho forms an impregnable fence. Six allied Hebrew words are rendered "oak," some of them being the "terebinth." But the translation "plain" is sometimes wrongly given, as in Gen. xiii, 18, where it should be "oak" or "terebinth" of Mamre.

The word rightly rendered "oil tree" in Isaiah xli, 19, is translated "olive tree" in 1 Kings vi, 23, and by "pine branches" in Nehemiah viii, 15. Perhaps the oleaster is meant. The "paper reeds" is a mistranslation in Isaiah xix, 7,

[1] The name of "Valley of the Kedron" may have a connection with some old groups of cedars, "Brook of the Cedars," John xviii, 1. Χειμάρρου τῶν κεδρών. Rabbinical authority states that on a bridge leading from the mount to the eastern gate of the temple were two great cedars, or "monsters of cedars," as Lightfoot calls them. The great orientalist is not himself inclined to adopt such a derivation of the name of the valley. The cedars of the Old Testament were not all Lebanon trees. Other species of firs are referred to under the general name. Indeed, our term "larch" is only the Hebrew or Arabic word with the article, "l'arez." Lightfoot, Works, vol. X, p. 82, ed. Pitman, London, 1823.

for the papyrus is mentioned in the same oracle. "Cockle," Job xxxi, 40, is an old Anglo-Saxon term, and the margin gives "noisome weeds"; but in Isaiah v, 2, 4, it is rendered "wild grapes."

"Rye," which is not indigenous in Palestine, should rather be "spelt," as in the margin, Exod. ix, 32; Isaiah xxviii, 25. Spelt is grown extensively in Palestine, and resembles wheat, but is rough, coarse, and bearded. The writer saw many fields of it some time ago, and was—as he had not seen it before—perplexed by it for a time, as it was not wheat on the one hand, nor rye on the other. Oats are not grown in Palestine; but there is a general term for "corn," or "cereals," one special term for "standing corn," and a third for "winnowed corn." There are special words for "green corn," "parched corn," "pounded corn," "old corn," and "a corn stack."

"Silk" occurs in Rev. xviii, 12, among the wondrous treasures of Babylon, and it is also found in Prov. xxxi, 22, in Ezekiel xvi, 10, 13; and in the margin, Gen. xli, 42, it is the alternative for the "fine linen" of the text, which is the proper rendering, and it has not such a marginal explanation anywhere else. "Silk" is the right translation in the Apocalypse. The term in Ezekiel means "drawn as fine as a hair," and is explained to mean silk by the lexicographers Hesychius and Suidas. Another Hebrew term, rendered "Damascus" in Amos iii, 12, has been taken to refer to damask—"on damask couches." Any reference to silk in the Old Testament is rather doubtful.

The Hebrew language abounded in specific topographical terms, which have not always been attended to in our version. It has distinctive words for hill, height, rock, cliff, crag, for spring,[1] well, pond, pool or tank, reservoir, cistern, trough; and for ravine, dale, valley, plain, plateau or downs, park, field, meadow, wady or dry water-course. It had also special names for city, hold, hamlet, villages, enclosures; and for wood, forest,

[1] John iv, 6, "Jacob's spring was there," πηγή, rendered "fountain" in James iii, 1; and in v, 11, the woman names the shaft "the well," τὸ φρέαρ.

grove, &c. In the Old Testament reference is sometimes made to the Negeb, vaguely rendered "the south," Psalm cxxvi, 4; to the Shephelah, or "low country," "valley" in Josh. xi, 16; to the Arabah and the circle of the Jordan; to the Mishor —downs or table-lands of Moab; and to the Sharon[1]—the rich sea-board, especially between Cæsarea and Joppa.

It is not easy to find distinctive terms for Hebrew measures, weights, and coins. In some cases in the Old Testament the original name is kept—"an omer," "an ephah," "gerah," "shekel"—which must be made intelligible by a marginal explanation. In the New Testament some terms are translated, but the translation gives to the reader no more knowledge than would be given by the simple transference of the original word—such as a measure of wheat, three measures of meal, bushel, firkin, pieces of silver, piece of money, penny, pound, tribute money. The English terms do not correspond in value to the original names, and this is of special importance when some lesson or comparison depends on the coin or size of the measure. The proportion of the money to the grain, or the comparative dearness of the wheat, is lost to the reader in the vague rendering "a measure of wheat for a penny," Rev. vi, 6, and would be equally so in the more literal translation, "a choinix of wheat for a denarius," or that older annotation, which has passed into the text, "now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah." Exod. xvi, 36; and there is no marginal note, though it is of some importance to know how much manna each man gathered for a day's consumption. Nor is there any explanation of a "thousand silverlings," Isaiah vii, 23. Half-shekel and stater would not, indeed, be very intelligible, Matt. xvii, 24, 27. An American margin might explain a penny as "seventeen cents." Principal Campbell[2] waxes merry on the proposals which have been made to give a strict translation in British coin: "a measure of wheat for sevenpence halfpenny," "the chief priests covenanted with Judas for three pounds fifteen shillings sterling," "why was

[1] It is usually in the Old Testament הַשָּׁרוֹן, with the definite article, as in Acts ix, 35 The combination of article and noun produced the form ἀσσάρωνα, much as פְּרָת, with the demonstrative pronoun הוּא, produced Εὐφράτης, Euphrates.

[2] "On the Gospels," p. 257.

not this ointment sold for nine pounds seven shillings and sixpence?" "six pounds five shillings would not purchase bread sufficient."

As our simple purpose is to give some examples in which a revision might promote clearness and uniformity, we pause with a mere reference to the Greek particles.[1] Though some of these particles occasionally almost defy translation, they give life and variety to the expression, adding flavour to sweetness, pungency to strength, and raciness to points of doubt, question, or modification, and they are ever gleaming through the paragraph like the shifting colours of a dove's neck. To analyze their nature and signification might not be so difficult, but how to express them in English as curt as themselves, is the critical task; for then, as at the opening up of the flower, the fragrance is dissipated in the rude process. There needs a delicacy of perception, an instinctive power of seizing on the shade of idea presented, which may also be modified by the structure of the clause and the position of these subtle words in it.[2] The translator must be endowed with the rare gift of a psychological oneness with evangelists and apostles, and this ideal identity will bestow such keenness of insight and true sympathy of spirit, that for the time the author's current of thought and reasoning becomes that of his interpreter. The second mind grows into the original mind, and the sense of his words is at once apprehended and felt. And while so much of this qualification is born with the gifted seer, a long course of earnest study is, at the same time, indispensable; for he that renders the New Testament should possess, not only sound scholarship, ardent integrity, and freedom from prepossession; but should be also disciplined to the dexterous handling of philological instruments, and be endowed with the patient power of listening to all arguments, on every side and aspect, syntactic or exegetical, of a question, so that, after a leisurely survey of the premises, a sound con-

[1] Such particles as *μή, μηδέ; γέ* in various combinations, *περ, τοι, ἄν, εἴπερ, οὐ μή, γάρ, οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ, οὔτε . . . οὔτε, εἰ καί, καὶ εἰ, ἐάν,* also in several combinations, *καὶ, τε, ἤτοι . . . ἤ, ἆρα, ἄρα,* &c.

[2] Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. I, p. 223.

clusion may be reached. And all in dependence on the "Interpreter, One among a thousand," who guides into all the truth.

Such emendations as have been suggested in the preceding pages may be adopted or not in any revision; if they were, they would bring the translation into a closer conformity with the original, and would not change the style of its fine old hallowed English. Hallam, indeed, asserts that this English "is so enthusiastically praised, that no one is permitted to qualify, or even explain, the ground of this approbation." After muttering some dissatisfaction with such eulogistic opinions, he adds in self-vindication, "it is not the English of the reign of James I, ... it is not the English of Daniel, or Raleigh, or Bacon." True; and had its English been that of the epoch or of the authors named, it would not have lived so long, nor taken or kept such a hold of the nation. For, as Dr. Newman—still maintaining his own views—declares, and his estimate is based on a long and varied experience: "Bible religion is both the recognized title and the best description of English religion. It consists, not in rites or creeds, but mainly in having the Bible read in Church, in the family, and in private. Now I am far indeed from undervaluing that mere knowledge of Scripture which is imparted to the population thus promiscuously. At least in England, it has to a certain point made up for great and grievous losses in its Christianity. The reiteration again and again, in fixed course in the public service, of the words of inspired teachers under both Covenants, and that in grave majestic English, has in matter of fact been to our people a vast benefit. It has attuned their minds to religious thoughts; it has given them a high moral standard; it has served them in associating religion with compositions which, even humanly considered, are among the most sublime and beautiful ever written; especially, it has impressed upon them the series of Divine Providences in behalf of man from his creation to his end, and, above all, the words, deeds, and sacred sufferings of Him in whom all the Providences of God centre."

[1] Literature of Europe, vol. II, p. 366, 4th edition, London, 1854.

[2] Grammar of Assent, p. 56, London, 1874.

The subject of Revision was brought before the Convocation of Canterbury in February, 1870, and the result of several discussions was embodied in the following propositions :—

"1. That it is desirable that a revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.

"2. That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized Version.

"3. That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except when in the judgment of the most competent scholars such change is necessary.

"4. That in such necessary changes, the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed.

"5. That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the cooperation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong."

To carry out these resolutions a joint committee was appointed, and at its meeting in May, 1870, it was resolved—

"I. That the Committee, appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury at its last Session, separate itself into two Companies, the one for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, the other for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament.

"II. That the Company for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament consist of the Bishops of St. Davids, Llandaff, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells, and of the following Members from the Lower House, Archdeacon Rose, Canon Selwyn, Dr. Jebb, and Dr. Kay.

"III. That the Company for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament consist of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Salisbury, and of the following Members from the Lower House, the Prolocutor, the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster, and Canon Blakesley.

"IV. That the first portion of the work to be undertaken by the Old Testament Company, be the revision of the Authorized Version of the Pentateuch.

"V. That the first portion of the work to be undertaken by the New Testament Company, be the revision of the Authorized Version of the Synoptical Gospels.

"VI. That the following Scholars and Divines be invited to join the Old Testament Company:—Dr. W. L. Alexander, Professor Chenery, Canon Cook, Professor A. B. Davidson, Dr. B. Davies, Professor Fairbairn, Rev. F. Field, Dr. Ginsburg, Dr. Gotch, Archdeacon Harrison, Professor Leathes, Professor M'Gill, Canon Payne Smith, Professor J. S. Perowne, Professor Plumptre, Canon Pusey, Dr. Wright (British Museum), W. A. Wright (Cambridge).

"VII. That the following Scholars and Divines be invited to join the New Testament Company:—Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Angus, Dr. Eadie, Rev. F. J. A. Hort, Rev. W. G. Humphry, Canon Kennedy, Archdeacon Lee, Dr. Lightfoot, Professor Milligan, Professor Moulton, Dr. J. H. Newman, Professor Newth, Dr. A. Roberts, Rev. G. Vance Smith, Dr. Scott (Balliol Coll.), Rev. F. Scrivener, Dr. Tregelles, Dr. Vaughan, Canon Westcott.

"VIII. That the General Principles to be followed by both Companies be as follows:—

"1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the Text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.

"2. To limit, as far as possible, the expressions of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions.

"3. Each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter is provided.

"4. That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin.

"5. To make or retain no change in the Text on the second final revision by each Company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.

"6. In every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon till the next Meeting, whensoever the same shall be required by *one-third* of those present at the Meeting, such intended vote to be announced in the notice for the next Meeting.

"7. To revise the headings of chapters, pages, paragraphs, italics, and punctuation.

"8. To refer, on the part of each Company, when considered desirable, to Divines, Scholars, and Literary Men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions.

"IX. That the work of each Company be communicated to the other as it is completed, in order that there may be as little deviation from uniformity in language as possible.

"X. That the Special or Bye-rules for each Company be as follows:—

"1. To make all corrections in writing previous to the Meeting.

"2. To place all the corrections due to textual considerations on the left hand margin, and all other corrections on the right hand margin.

"3. To transmit to the Chairman, in case of being unable to attend, the corrections proposed in the portion agreed upon for consideration."

Some of these scholars did not act, or resigned, and others, alas! have died. The list stands at present as follows:—

I. The Old Testament Revision Company.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of Winchester (Chairman); The Right Rev. the Bishop of Bath and Wells; The Right Rev. the Bishop of Llandaff (Corresponding Member); the Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury; the Ven. the Archdeacon of Maidstone; the Rev. Dr. Alexander, Edinburgh; R. L. Bensly, Esq., University Library, Cambridge; Professor Birrell, St. Andrew's; Dr. Chance, Sydenham Hill; Professor Chenery, London; the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, Oxford; Professor Davidson, Edinburgh; Principal Douglas, Glasgow; S. R. Driver, New College, Oxford, Esq.; the Rev. C. J. Elliot, Winkfield Vicarage, Windsor; the Rev. F. Field, Heigham, Norwich; the Rev. J. D. Geden, Wesleyan College, Didsbury, Manchester; Dr. Ginsburg, Holm-lea, Berks; the Rev. Dr. Kay, Chelmsford; Professor Leathes,

London; the Rev. J. R. Lumby, Cambridge; Canon Perowne, Cambridge; the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Oxford; Professor W. R. Smith, Aberdeen; Professor Weir, Glasgow; Professor Wright, Cambridge; W. Aldis Wright, Esq., (Secretary), Trinity College, Cambridge.

II. The New Testament Company.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Chairman); the Right Rev. the Bishop of Salisbury; the Very Rev. the Prolocutor, Dean of Lichfield; the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, the Very Rev. the Dean of Rochester; the Very Rev. the Dean of Lincoln; the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Dublin; the Right Rev. the Bishop of St. Andrews; the Rev. Dr. Angus, Baptist College London; Professor David Brown, Aberdeen; Professor Eadie, Glasgow; the Rev. Dr. Hort, Cambridge; the Rev. W. G. Humphry, Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, London; Canon Kennedy, Cambridge; the Ven. the Archdeacon of Dublin; Canon Lightfoot, Cambridge; Professor Milligan, Aberdeen; the Rev. Dr. Moulton, The Leys, Cambridge; Principal Newth, New College, London; Professor Palmer, Oxford; Professor Roberts, St. Andrews; Prebendary Scrivener, Gerrans, Grampound (now Vicar of Hendon); the Rev. Dr. G. Vance Smith, Sheffield; the Rev. the Master of the Temple; Canon Westcott, Cambridge; the Rev. J. Troutbeck (Secretary), 4 Dean's Yard, Westminster.

The work of Revision began on the 22nd of June, 1870, and has been carried on with perfect cordiality, and every promise of ultimate success.

Similar Boards of scholars and divines for the revision of the Authorized Version have been organized in the United States, and their work has been carried on in harmony with the British Companies that meet from time to time in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey.

INDEX.

"So essential did I consider an Index to be to every book, that I proposed to bring a Bill into parliament to deprive an author who publishes a book without an Index of the privilege of copyright: and, moreover, to subject him, for his offence, to a pecuniary penalty."—LORD CAMPBELL, *Lives of the Chief Justices.*

ÆLFRIC'S translations of Scripture into Saxon, i, 15, 16.
his Saxon grammar, i, 79, note 3.
"Abate," Cockeram's reference to the word as obsolete, ii, 234, n. 2.
Aidan employs his associates in reading the Scriptures, i, 4.
Aldhelm praises nuns for study of Scripture, i, 5.
his Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms and his songs, i, 10, 11.
Aldred and Anglo-Saxon gloss of Cuthbert Gospels, i, 14.
Ales (Alex.), his controversy with Cochlæus, i, 129, n. 1.
account of, i, 247, 248.
on Tyndale's version in Scotland, i, 248.
introduced by Crumwell to Convocation of 1534, i, 338.
Alfred's translations into Anglo-Saxon, i, 12, 13.
Allen (William) and Douai version, ii, 115, 116.
Anderson (Chris.), his Annals of English Bible, i, 125.
Anderson (Andro), his Bibles and their blunders, ii, 317, 321.
Andrews (St.), at one time capital of Scotland, i, 245, n. 1.
Andrewes (Bishop), notice of, ii, 186.
Anglo-Norman, early translations in, i, 30, 32.
the Ormulum, i, 30, n. 1, 2.
story of Genesis and Exodus, i, 31.
Salus Animi, i, 31.
Schorham and Hampole, i, 31, 32.
Anglo-Saxon invasion, effect of, on British Christianity, i, 3.
language, brief account of, i, 5, 9.
language, how influenced by Norman French, i, 25, 29.
literature, cessation of, in consequence of Norman conquest, i, 27, n. 2.
literature, how far it spread into Scotland, i, 33, 34.
MSS. regarded as useless, i, 17, n. 1.
Mark (Skeat's), changes in language shown by, i, 28, n. 1.
translations (earliest) of Bible into, i, 4, 5.
by Cædmon, i, 9, 10.
Guthlac, i, 10.
Aldhelm, i, 11.
Bede, i, 11, 12.
Alfred, i, 13.
glosses, i, 14, 17.
versions, necessarily from Latin, i, 17.
versions, only the wreck of, have come down to us, i, 17.
words, proportion of, in English, i, 6, 7, n.
Anne of Bohemia, her study of Gospel in English, i, 61.
Anne (Queen), in title of Coverdale's Bible, changed into Queen Jane, i, 267, 272, 273, 302.
and Harman, i, 231.
and Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian Man," i, 231, n. 3.
and copy of Tyndale's revised New Testament on vellum, i, 232.

Apocrypha, Coverdale on, i, 267.
Coverdale and Rogers on, i, 328, 332.
Lightfoot and others on, ii, 301, 302.
characterized, ii, 302.
when Bibles began to be printed without, ii, 302.
Arbuthnot and Bassandyne, printers of first Bible issued in Scotland, ii, 43, 44.
Arundel, constitutions of, i, 61.
hostility to Wycliffe's Bible, i, 81, 82.
influence in passing severe measures against heretics, i, 87, 88.
connection with Scotland, i, 81, n. 1.
Askew (Anne), martyrdom of, i, 411, 412.
"Assembly's Annotations," persons concerned in the work, ii, 300.
Authorized Version, question of, discussed at Westminster, in 1530, i, 184.
Warham's manifesto regarding, i, 259, 260.
Latimer's letter to king, i, 261, 262.
Great Bible, authorized version for twenty-eight years, i, 383, n. 3.
AUTHORIZED VERSION, commonly so called, ii, 159-334.
origin of, in proposal of Dr. Reynolds at Hampton Court Conference, ii, 174, 175.
proposal for, favoured by king's fondness for Biblical lore, ii, 179.
Bancroft's correspondence regarding, ii, 180-182.
king too poor to aid with money, ii, 182, 183.
Cecil's letter to Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges, ii, 183, 184.
Board of Revisers, ii, 184-186.
companies, ii, 185.
short notices of some of them, ii, 186-190.
compensated by ecclesiastical preferment, ii, 190, 191.
directions for the revision, ii, 191-193.
describe their work as revision, not translation, ii, 194.
justify translations of Scripture, ii, 196, 198.
commend Scripture study, ii, 199, 200.
their spirit, ii, 200.
method of procedure, ii, 201, 220.
last revision, ii, 201.
work completed, ii, 202.
title, ii, 202.
two issues, ii, 202.
Authorized Version—*continued.*
Board of Revisers, dedication to king, ii, 202-204.
clause, "appointed to be read in churches," without authority, ii, 204.
no Nonconformist or Scottish scholar employed in the work, ii, 205.
welcome given to new volume as expressed by Fuller, ii, 207.
use made of the originals, ii, 208.
their Hebrew text, ii, 209, 210.
their Greek text, ii, 211.
different readings given in margin, ii, 210, 212-214.
marginal renderings and notes, ii, 214-217.
historical notes later interpolations, ii, 217.
not a few marginal renderings preferable, ii, 218.
use of previous versions, ii, 218, 219, 221-225.
other helps, ii, 219.
choice of words, ii, 225, 226, 233.
excellence of its English style, ii, 226-228.
Hallam and Newman on, ii, 480.
literal renderings of Hebrew clauses, ii, 228.
ingenious turns of diction, ii, 229, 230.
preponderance of Saxon, ii, 231.
Latin terms, ii, 231.
terms occurring only once, ii, 233-235.
rules as quoted at Synod of Dort, ii, 235.
license taken in translating Apocrypha, ii, 235, 236.
marginal notes in Apocrypha, i, 236.
Biblical Saxon compounds objected to by Geddes and Hume, ii, 237.
freedom from "inkhorn terms" and intricate constructions, ii, 237, 238.
universality of adaptation, ii, 239.
English tongue in its best state at time of translation, ii, 239-240.
marginal terms now out of use, ii, 242-244.
words and phrases in contents of chapters which have passed away, ii, 244-246.
obsolete terms in text, ii, 246-248.
archaisms, ii, 248-250.
words in their Latin sense, ii, 250-253.
peculiar phrases and syntax, ii, 253-255.

Authorized Version—*continued.*
different forms of preterite and variation in other forms, ii, 255, 256.
old use of "his," ii, 256, 257.
spelling changed in modern editions, ii, 258.
use of "be," "you," "that," ii, 259.
"whiles," conjunctions joining different moods, strong preterite in one clause and auxiliary in other, ii, 260.
old use of grammatical numbers and other peculiarities, ii, 260-262.
Hostility to the version anticipated, ii, 264.
attacks of Broughton, ii, 265, 266.
attack of Dr. Gell, ii, 266.
Ward's "Errata of the Protestant Bible," ii, 267, 268.
charged with favouring the notion of witchcraft to please the king, ii, 268-270.
"God Save the King," ii, 270, 271.
ecclesiastical predilections, ii, 271, 272.
doctrinal predilections, ii, 272-275.
anti-Popish leanings, ii, 275, 276.
Beza not always followed, ii, 276-279.
theological bias in the margin, ii, 279.
Supplemental words and use of italics, ii, 280-285.
italic words which should be excluded, ii, 281.
some supplied words expository, ii, 282-284.
some italic words unwarranted, ii, 285.
Headings of chapters, character of, ii, 286, 287.
Printing and Editions of, ii, 288-334.
early patents, ii, 288, 289.
Barker's edition, ii, 288, 289.
inaccuracy of, ii, 291-294.
first issues, ii, 289-293.
brought into conformity with Bishops' and Genevan, ii, 291.
edition of Buck and Daniel, ii, 295, 296.
charges against Independents and Presbyterians in connection with Buck and Daniel's edition, ii, 296.
Baxter's copy of Buck and Daniel's edition, ii, 296.
Scott's reference to Buck and Daniel's edition, ii, 296.
Quaker's Bible, ii, 297.
foreign editions and editions of Field and Hill, errors of, ii, 297-299.
Field's Pearl Bible, ii, 299.
Authorized Version—*continued.*
"Assembly's Annotations," ii, 300, 301.
notes (the old), anecdote showing desire for, ii, 301.
Field's heavy folio referred to by Pepys, ii, 302.
Tennison (Archbishop), edition under patronage of, ii, 303.
Paris (Dr.), edition of, ii, 303.
Blayney's (Dr.), edition, great pains taken with, ii, 304.
errors in, ii, 305, 306.
editions of smaller size, Lemoine's complaint regarding, ii, 306.
state of text, complaint of Committee of Dissenting ministers regarding, ii, 306, 307.
American revised edition, ii, 307, 308.
marginal references, growth of, ii, 308.
punctuation, ii, 308.
paragraph marks and division in chapters and verses, ii, 309.
Macklin, Baskerville, and others, editions of, 309.
Cambridge Bible of 1858, very good edition, ii, 309.
Dublin edition of 1714 the earliest printed in Ireland, ii, 309.
America, early editions printed in, ii, 309.
Arthur (father and daughter), printers of, ii, 309, 310.
Scrivener's (Dr.) Cambridge Paragraph Bible, ii, 310.
Cromwell's soldiers, their pocket Bibles, ii, 310, n. 1.
editions of in Scotland, ii, 316-321.
Hart's, ii, 316.
edition with "Popish pictures," ii, 316.
Anderson's editions, numerous and gross blunders of, ii, 317-321.
Watson's (James) Bibles.
inaccuracy of printed Bible brought before General Assembly, ii, 321.
revision, proposal for, by John Row, ii, 322-324.
patentee, only one, for printing Bible in Scotland, ii, 324.

Bacon, his preference of "charity" to "love," ii, 133, n. 1.
Bainham racked in the tower, i, 192.
martyred, i, 207.
Bancroft at Hampton Court Conference, ii, 170-172.
connection with Authorized Version, ii, 180-193.

Bancroft—*continued.*
charged by Dr. Hill with making the Authorized Version speak prelatical language, ii, 271, 272.
died, ii, 272, n. 1.
Band (The Common) of Protestant nobles in Scotland, ii, 40.
(The Italian) ludicrous mistake in regard to, ii, 367, n. 1.
Barclay's "Shyp of Folys," its honest title-page, i, 281.
Barkar or Barker (Chris.), printer of Tomson's Genevan New Testament, ii, 34, nn. 2, 4.
Barker (Robert), his salary as royal printer, ii, 184.
and first issue of Authorized Version, ii, 202.
Barker (Matthew), his claim to sole right of printing the Authorized Version, ii, 201, 202.
Barkers (The) and printing of Authorized Version, ii, 288, 289.
Barker and Bill's edition with "not" left out in seventh commandment, ii, 294.
Barlow's (William) vacillations, i, 378.
Barlow's (Dr.) account of origin of Authorized Version, ii, 174.
account of Hampton Court conference, ii, 174-176.
Barnes (Prior) and Tyndale's New Testament, i, 167, 168.
and Coverdale, i, 255, 256.
Baxter's copy of Cambridge Bible, ii, 296.
Beaton (Card.), his list of intended victims, i, 414.
Becke's (Edmund) editions of Matthew's Bible, i, 346.
Becon's "News from Heaven" and "Welcome of Great Bible," i, 386, n. 1.
on free permission of Bible reading, i, 406.
Latin terms used by, and by Ascham, Bacon, Jeremy Taylor, and Hooker, ii, 238, n. 1.
Bede of Jarrow, his devotion to Bible translation, i, 11, 12.
his MS., i, 12, n. 1.
his exhortation to Egbert, i, 4.
Bellfrith the anchoret, i, 14.
Beowulf, poem of, i, 3, n. 3.
Berthelet and printing of Tyndale's first New Testament issued in England, i, 240.
and Whitchurch willing to print second edition of Great Bible at 10s., i, 372.
Beza, his influence on Genevan Bible, ii, 16 ss., 30.
Bible, a people's book, i, 37, 38.
burning of, i, 173, 177, 184, 185, 429.
sanctifies all relations, i, 56.
Bible (English), wonderful and suggestive history of, ii, 331-334.
number of chapters, verses, letters in, ii, 330.
Bible readings, scenes at, and royal proclamations regarding, i, 389-391.
abuses in connection with, i, 407.
cruel restrictions on, i, 409-412.
Bibles (mediæval) and Charlemagne, ii, 310, n. 1.
Bible Society and daily issue of Bibles, ii, 347, n. 1.
Bilney and discovery of Tyndale's New Testament at Oxford, i, 175.
his martyrdom, i, 207.
BISHOPS' BIBLE, ii, 59-104.
circumstances which prepared the way for this revision, ii, 66.
Parker's connection with, ii, 67.
coadjutors of Parker, ii, 69, 70.
short rules for revisers, ii, 70.
the various translators, ii, 71, 72.
initials at end of some of the books, ii, 72, 73.
the version finished, ii, 73.
Parker's letter to Cecil, ii, 73, 74.
published, ii, 76.
description of title-page, ii, 76, 77.
archbishop's preface, ii, 77.
no royal confirmation given to the Bible, ii, 78, 79.
enactments in its favour by Convocation, ii, 78.
Great Bible chiefly followed in Old Testament, ii, 79.
critical remarks of Lawrence, ii, 79-83.
edition of 1572 described, ii, 84.
influence of Tyndale on New Testament of Bishops', ii, 84.
collations of first and second editions, ii, 84-85.
Great Bible and Bishops' in historical books, ii, 86.
collation of Great Bible, Genevan, and Bishops', ii, 87-92.
notes, ii, 92, 93.
archaic terms, ii, 93, 94.
Burleigh's portrait, ii, 94.
Bible of 1575, ii, 94.
price, ii, 94.
literal translations, ii, 95-97.
supplements, ii, 97, 98.

Bishops' Bible—*continued.*
notice of the article and small connecting words, ii, 99.
want of uniformity, ii, 100.
attempt to classify books of Scripture, ii, 100.
places not edifying pointed out, ii, 100.
Great Bible superseded, ii, 101.
attempts to supersede Genevan, ii, 101-102.
three versions in circulation, ii, 102.
Gregory Martin, with regard to, ii, 103.
Bishops' prescribed as basis of Authorized Version, ii, 191.
revised copy or copies of, used at press, not preserved, ii, 290.
Blayney's annotations added to Authorized Version, ii, 217.
Blunt's sneer at Tyndale's New Testament as taken from secondary sources, i, 360, n. 3.
Bodley's patent for printing Genevan Bible, ii, 32.
application for extension of patent, ii, 32, 33.
Boel's, C., frontispiece to first issue of Authorized Version, ii, 202.
Bohemia, influence of Wycliffe's Bible on, i, 61, 62.
Bonner, at Paris, aids Grafton and Coverdale, i, 359, 360.
his injunctions with regard to reading of Great Bible, i, 400.
sets up six Bibles in St. Paul's, i, 400.
and Bible burning, i, 412.
his mandate against texts of Scripture on church walls, i, 427, 428.
Bradbee, martyrdom of, i, 87.
Breeches Bible, ii, 15.
Borthwick, Lord, charged with having New Testament in English, i, 415.
Bois or Boyd, John, ii, 184.
Bowes' translation and "phenomenon," i, 233, n. 2.
Bromyard's, John, opposition to Wycliffe and his views, i, 84.
Buckenham, Prior, and reading of Scriptures, i, 203.
Busche, Herman von dem, on Tyndale's learning, i, 137.

CAEDMON and his sacred poems, i, 9-10.
Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum* and King James, ii, 170.
Cambray, treaty of, and the printing of Lutheran books, i, 179.
Campbell of Cessnock and the reading of Bible in vernacular, i, 96.
Campeggio, Card., congratulations on burning of Bible, i, 173.
Campian, the Jesuit, and assassination of queen, ii, 114.
his Latin prayers at Tyburn, i, 422.
Cartwright's attack on Rheims version interdicted by Whitgift, ii, 149.
Castro, Philip's Spanish chaplain, and sermon on toleration, i, 433.
Cawood, his issues of Great Bible, ii, 101.
Cawood and Jugge, Queen Elizabeth's printers, ii, 32.
Chapters first divided into verses in Whittingham's New Testament, ii, 8.
number of, as well as of verses, words, letters, in English Bible, ii, 330.
"Characters," Wotton's use of the word, ii, 233.
Charlemagne and grant to monks of St. Bertin, ii, 310, n. 1.
Chaucer on French learned by young ladies at school, i, 25, n. 1.
his language, i, 71, 72.
on mendicant orders, i, 48.
on earlier purity of Lollards, i, 94.
Chichele, the primate, and the ungraving of Wycliffe's bones, i, 82.
counsels war with France, i, 90.
Cheke's, Sir John, translations into Old English, i, 422.
Chester, Col., on Roger's notes, i, 331, n. 1.
on character of Coverdale, i, 433, 437.
Cobham's, Lord, death, i, 87, 88.
Cochlæus, his hostility to Tyndale, i, 129, 131.
reply to Ales, i, 248.
complains of ingratitude of Henry VIII, i, 248.
Coke on heresy as leprosy of soul, i, 86, n. 5.
Coke, Sir Edward, refuses to take oath against Lolleries, i, 88.
Colins, John, Alice, Robert, and Thomas, and Bible reading, i, 92, 93.
"Commence" not used in Bible or Milton, ii, 234, n. 2.
Constantine (Vicar) and More, i, 169, 181.
Cottysford and seizure of Garnett, i 163, 165.
COVERDALE'S birth and early years i, 255.

Coverdale—*continued.*
enjoys favour of Crumwell, i, 256.
leaves his convent and dedicates himself to preaching the Gospel, i, 256.
influence on Thomas Topley, i, 256.
retreats to Continent, i, 257.
connection with Tyndale, i, 257.
in obscurity, i, 258.
letter to Crumwell, i, 258.
his knowledge of German, i, 258.
work of translation, when commenced by him, i, 258-265.
stimulated by growing desire for Authorized English Bible, i, 258-265.
his Bible published, i, 266, 267.
title-page, dedication and prologue, i, 266-268.
preface to Apocrypha, i, 268-270.
where and by whom printed, i, 270, 271.
changes of title, i, 272, 273, 280.
the originator of the translation, i, 273-276.
the one workman, i, 276-278.
principles of translation, i, 278, 279.
not taken from Hebrew and Greek text, i, 279-281.
sources of the version, i, 281, 282.
Whittaker's blunders in regard to, i, 282-285.
his notes, sources of, 286-292.
collation showing use made by Coverdale of German versions, i, 292-294.
his New Testament has Tyndale's for its basis, i, 295, 296.
proportion of Coverdale's and Tyndale's renderings retained in Authorized Version, i, 296, 297.
exaggerated praise of Geddes, i, 297.
quaint and antique renderings, i, 298-300.
obsolete terms, i, 301.
always musical, i, 301, 302.
editions with "the kyng's most gracious license" on title-page, i, 302.
the Diglott, i, 302-304.
editions of 304, 305.
misprint on title-page of Coverdale's Bible, printed at Zürich, i, 305.
his connection with Great Bible (see Great Bible).
and Matthew, i, 329-331.
goes abroad on fall of Crumwell, i, 431.
Bishop of Exeter under Edward VI, i, 431.

Coverdale—*continued.*
his life in danger under Mary, i, 431.
saved by intercession of king of Denmark, i, 432.
returns home at the accession of Elizabeth, i, 434.
Grindal's interest in him, i, 435, 436.
his poverty, i, 436-439.
death, i, 437.
epitaph, i, 440.
character, i, 252, 356, 364, 437, 439.
Cox (Bishop of Ely), and project for Bishops' Bible, ii, 69.
Cranmer (Arch.), his project for translation of Bible, i, 264, 265.
connection with Matthew's Bible, i, 335, 336, 340.
connection with Great Bible, i, 356, 357.
new edition of Great Bible, i, 372.
his prologue, i, 375-378.
defeats Gardyner's proposal for Latinized version, i, 405.
his instructions to Bucer and Fagius, i, 420.
and burning of Joan of Kent, i, 424.
his martyrdom, 430.
Craws (Paul) burned at St. Andrews, i, 96.
Crumwell, and efforts for release of Tyndale, i, 239-243.
and origination of Coverdale's Bible, i, 274.
Coverdale's Diglott dedicated to, i, 304.
connection with Matthew's Bible, i, 335, 336.
at pinnacle of his power, i, 338.
and Taverner's edition of Matthew's Bible, i, 343.
and Great Bible, i, 355, 357, 364, 366.
copies of Great Bible on parchment sent to him and king, i, 357, 358.
prepares measures for circulation of Great Bible, i, 364.
patent for printing Great Bible, i, 373.
his rise and fall, i, 394.

"Defender of the Faith," i, 263, n. 1.
Devonshire, insurrection in, against English Bible and service, i, 422.
Dewes (Rev. Alfred), on Authorized Version, ii, 353, n. 1.
"Dialogue on the Exchequer," and intermarriage of English and Normans, i 22.,

Donne and Philips betray Tyndale, i, 238, 239.
Dort (Synod of), and rules for translators of Authorized Version, ii, 201, 235, 242, 286.
Douai "Seminarie" and English Catholics, ii, 114, 15.
DOUAI AND RHEIMS VERSION, ii, 107-155.
taken from Vulgate, ii, 107.
originated with Popish exiles under Elizabeth, ii, 113.
the translators, some account of, ii, 115, 116.
New Testament published, ii, 116.
title, ii, 116.
the preface, ii, 117.
the motives it assigns for the translation, ii, 117-121.
for the Annotations, ii, 123.
reasons for close adherence to Latin, ii, 123-125.
"Greeke added in margent," ii, 125, 126.
Fulke's attack, ii, 126, 127.
Cartwright's answer to the preface, ii, 127.
reasons for translating from Vulgate, ii, 128.
want of charity towards Protestants, ii, 129.
the Greek text ever before them, ii, 129.
Latin terms not rendered, ii, 130-133.
familiar Saxon phrases, ii, 134, 135.
enriched vocabulary of Authorized Version, ii, 135.
uniformity of rendering, ii, 136.
Rheims New Testament and Mary Queen of Scots, ii, 136.
Old Testament published, ii, 137.
description of, ii, 137.
publication delayed from lack of means, ii, 137, 138.
addresses prefixed to Old Testament, ii, 138.
why the Latin text translated rather than Hebrew or Greek, ii, 138, 139, 140.
why some words are not translated, ii, 140.
Latinized English, ii, 141.
examples from Psalter, ii, 141, 142.
idiomatic renderings, ii, 143.
incomprehensible renderings, ii, 144.
notes, theological, ii, 144, 145.
list of words not familiar to the vulgar reader, ii, 145.
how the version was regarded by hostile observers, ii, 146, 147.
Douai and Rheims Version—*continued.*
controversy between Martin and Fulke in regard to rendering of proper names, ii, 147, 148.
attacks of Rheims translators on all English versions, ii, 148.
replies of Whitgift, Cartwright, and Bulkeley, ii, 149.
Catholic translators did not make use of Wycliffe, but now and then coincide with Genevan Version, ii, 150.
their table of Protestant errors, ii, 150, 152.
changes in subsequent editions, ii, 153.
Dr. Lingard and Cardinal Wiseman on the changes in the translation, ii, 154.
English terms due to old Latin Bible, or Vulgate, ii, 154.
theological nomenclature derived from Latin Church, ii, 155.
use of Rheims by translators of Authorized Version, ii, 219.
Durham Cathedral, insurgents enter and destroy Bibles, ii, 79.

Edfrid, his translations of Scripture into Anglo-Saxon, i, 5.
Edward, the Confessor, and the introduction of French, i, 19, 20.
III., relation of, to English tongue, i, 24.
the two races perfectly united under, i, 70.
VI., measures in favour of English Bible during his reign, i, 420-424.
numerous editions of Bible in his reign, i, 423.
Elizabeth (Queen), difficulties of early part of her reign, ii, 59.
Bible again starts into prominence, ii, 61.
a diligent student of Scripture, ii, 61, 62.
injunctions for the purchase of Bibles, ii, 62.
in religion an enigma, ii, 63.
eagerness for uniformity, ii, 64.
and Parker's wife, ii, 64, n. 2.
would not consent that the Bibles in circulation should be either abled or disabled, ii, 65.
various editions in circulation in her reign, ii, 66.
Elyot (Sir Thomas) undertakes task of seizing Tyndale at Antwerp, i, 237, 238.

Emperowr (Marten), printer of Tyndale's revised New Testament, i, 226.
Endhoven (Christopher of) issues third edition of Tyndale's New Testament, and is arrested, i, 175.
Hacket's demand that he be banished, i, 176.
his widow prints George Joye's New Testament, i, 217.
English, first occurrence of term, according to Lappenberg, i, 6, nn.
language, gradual ascendency of, i, 23-25.
changes in, from influence of Norman-French, i, 25-29.
first king's speech in, and first statutes recorded in, i, 24.
influence of Danish on, i, 25, n. 3.
growth of, in time of Wycliffe, i, 70, 71.
Grimm in regard to, ii, 226.
in its most perfect state when Authorized Version was made, ii, 239-241.
Erasmus, his fear with regard to study of Hebrew and philology, i, 91.
at Cambridge, i, 104.
Seebohm and Lee on his "Novum Instrumentum," i, 117, n. 1.
the publication of his Greek New Testament an epoch in history of Western Christendom, i, 141, 142.
and the term "Vulgarius," i, 255.

Fisher (Bishop) and burning of basketfuls of books, i, 167.
Fogny (John), printer of Rheims version, ii, 117.
Forrest (Henry), of Linlithgow, burned at St. Andrews for having New Testament in English, i, 248.
Thomas, vicar of Dollar, tried and burned in effigy, i, 415.
Forshall and Madden's edition of Wycliffe, i, 69.
Frankfort, troubles among exiles at, ii, 4.
Froschover and printing of Coverdale's Bible, i, 270.
blunders in title-pages of English Bibles, i, 280.
misprint in Coverdale's Bible printed at Zürich, i, 305.
Fry (of Bristol), his edition of Tyndale's Jonah, i, 206.
his monograph of "Three New Testaments of Tyndale," i, 232, n. 1.
Fryth, Tyndale's letter to, i, 134.
his reply to More, i, 135.
the "Baruch to this Jeremy," i, 139.
a fugitive and vagabond, i, 203.
martyred, i, 216, 217.
Fulke's story of Coverdale's defending his Bible before the king and bishops, i, 374.
his defence of the three versions against Martin's attack, ii, 103.
his defence of translations of Bible and dedication to the Queen, ii, 146, 149.
on translation of proper names, ii, 147.
on want of uniformity of rendering, ii, 136.
Fyshe's (Simon) "Supplicacion of the Beggars," i, 170.

Galloway's account of Hampton Court Conference, ii, 179.
his career, ii, 205, 206.
Gardyner, Bishop, and Scriptures in English tongue, i, 263.
translation of portion of Scriptures assigned to him by Cranmer, i, 265.
and Rogers, i, 348-350.
his plot for Latinized edition of Bible, i, 402-404.
his list of ninety-nine Latin terms, i, 404.
no mean scholar, i, 404, n. 2.
Mary's Chancellor, i, 425.
character by Lloyd, i, 426.
advocates Henry's repudiation of the Pope, i, 425, 426.
and the indiscreet artist, i, 427.
his imprudent retort to charge of instigating the queen to persecute heretics, i, 433.
retirement and death, i, 434.
Garrett and circulation of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 161-166.
Gaunt's (John of) relation to Wycliffe, i, 41, n. 1; 49, 51.
on forbidding English Scriptures, i, 83.
Geddes, his objections and those of Hume to certain Saxon Biblical forms, ii, 129.
on annotations of Rheims version, ii, 129.
Gell's (Dr.), attack on Authorized Version, ii, 266, 267, n. 2.
"Gelding," Wycliffe's word for "eunuch," i, 75, n. 2.
Geneva, citadel of Protestantism, ii, 5.

GENEVAN BIBLE, ii, 3-56.
due to refugees from Marian persecution, ii, 3-5.
preceded by New Testament of Whittingham (see Whittingham), ii, 5-9.
scholars engaged in enterprise, ii, 10, 11.
when finished, ii, 11.
title, ii, 11.
dedication to Queen Elizabeth, ii, 12.
dedication to the Christian reader, ii, 13, 14.
things which made it the people's book in England and Scotland, ii, 14, 15.
called "Breeches Bible," ii, 15.
a revision of Tyndale's Bible collated with Great Bible, ii, 16.
collation, ii, 16, 17.
changes due to Beza, ii, 17.
Genevan Old Testament, decided advance on Great Bible shown by collation, ii, 18-22.
changes to the better in Apocrypha, ii, 22.
Latin terms, ii, 23.
good renderings introduced by, ii, 23, 24.
old Saxon forms and words, ii, 24, 25.
antique words and senses, ii, 25.
old spellings, ii, 26.
supplementary clauses, ii, 26, 27.
its famous marginal notes, ii, 27-30.
their character, ii, 28-30.
excellence of the version, ii, 30.
its Greek text, ii, 31.
Bodley's patent for printing, ii, 32, 33.
first printed in England, ii, 33, 34.
Tomson's revision of New Testament, ii, 34, 35.
great sale of, ii, 35, 36.
relation of Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift to, ii, 36.
great and long continued popularity, ii, 37, 38, 51.
in Scotland, ii, 15, 39.
use of, by Knox, ii, 39.
the first Bible printed in Scotland, ii, 44-47.
title-page and dedication, ii, 45.
some account of it, ii, 47.
subsequent editions in Scotland, ii, 48, 49.
overture for revision, ii, 47.
the favourite volume in Scotland, ii, 50.
its vitality, ii, 51, 52, 102.
when it passed out of use, ii, 52.
Genevan Bible—*continued.*
attacked by Howson and Gregory Martin, ii, 52, 53.
stigmatized as the work of Beza, ii, 53, 54.
criticized by John Hamilton, ii, 54-56.
Cotton and latest, ii, 291, n. 1.
Genevan version and first Protestant Assembly of the Kirk, ii, 42.
proportion of its renderings retained in Authorized Version, ii, 218.
Gib (Muckle John), and the Sweet Singers, ii, 325, 327.
Gifford on the Bible as well-head of English prose, ii, 232, n. 2.
Gilby, one of the translators of Genevan Bible, ii, 11.
Ginsburg on Coverdale's version, i, 284.
his error in regard to Coverdale's use of "manner," i, 284, 285.
Glosses (Anglo-Saxon), i, 14-17.
glossa ordinaria and gloss interlineary, i, 68, 69.
Godfray (T.), and the first issue of Tyndale's New Testament in England, i, 240.
Gospels (Anglo-Saxon) published by Surtees Society, i, 14, n. 2.
"of the fower Evangelistes," printed by John Daye, i, 16, n. 1.
Polyglott published under care of Bosworth and Waring, i, 16, n. 2.
Gower's works, i, 24, 52, n. 4.
Guthlac's version of Psalms, i, 10.
Guy (Thomas), founder of Guy's Hospital, imports Bibles from Continent, ii, 299.
Grafton and Whitechurch publish edition of Coverdale's Diglott, i, 304.
take burden of printing Matthew's Bible on themselves, i, 315.
Grafton's letter to Crumwell regarding, i, 335, 336.
his petition for protection against rival editions, i, 340, 341.
at Paris with Coverdale, preparing Great Bible, i, 357-360.
sent to prison, i, 401.
among exiles, ii, 3, n. 1.
his reprint of "A Godly Invective, &c.," i, 65.
GREAT BIBLE, i, 355-440.
Coverdale chosen as editor, i, 355.
mistakes about origin of, i, 356.
Crumwell the prime mover, i, 357, 365.
Paris selected as place of printing, i, 357.

Great Bible—*continued.*
Coverdale and Grafton send two copies on parchment to Crumwell, and unfold their plan, i, 357-359.
Bonner's connection with them, i, 359.
Inquisitor-general interferes, i, 360.
the volume finished in London, i, 360.
title and frontispiece, i, 361-363.
commendation of Grafton in connection with, i, 361.
apology for want of notes, i, 363.
Crumwell's measures for its circulation, i, 364.
his own copy on vellum, where preserved, i, 364.
size, i, 365.
Latin version of Erasmus used by Coverdale in the revision, i, 365, 366.
Munster and Pagninus used for revision of Old Testament, i, 366.
collation of 2nd and 23rd Psalms, i, 367-369.
carefulness of the revision, i, 370.
spiteful attempts to frustrate proclamation in favour of, i, 370.
the Bible welcomed by the people, i, 370, 371.
new edition, with preface, by Cranmer, i, 372.
price, i, 372.
royal patent to Crumwell, i, 373.
delay in publication, Fulke's account of, i, 374.
Coverdale editor of second Great Bible as well as first, i, 375.
Cranmer's prologue on the benefit of Scripture reading, i, 375-378.
title, i, 378.
changes in second edition mainly due to Münster, i, 379-383.
Erasmus carefully studied for New Testament, i, 381, 382.
clauses inserted in the Apocalypse, i, 382.
seven editions of Great Bible in brief space, i, 382.
misprint in heading of Gen. xxxix, i, 383.
Apocrypha called Hagiographa, i, 383.
Great Bible still the only authorized version, i, 383.
paraphrastic and supplementary clauses from the Vulgate, i, 383-386.
Psalms in Book of Common Prayer taken from the Great Bible, i, 386.
terrible years during which successive translations of the Bible were published, i, 387-394.
Crumwell's arms erased in four last editions, i, 394.
fourth edition bears names of Tunstall and Heath, i, 395.
Anthony Marler bears expense of last editions, i, 397.
prices at which he might sell them, i, 397, 399.
proclamation enjoining all churches to provide themselves with Bible of largest volume, i, 397, 398.
title-page of last volume of this series of Great Bible, i, 399.
royal mandate in favour of Great Bible carried out by Bonner, Latimer, Hooper, and Lee, i, 400, 401.
reaction, i, 401.
Great Bible to be revised after the Latin version, i, 402.
names of persons to whom the work was apportioned, i, 403, 404.
Gardyner's list of Latin words to be retained, i, 404.
Cranmer outwits him, i, 405.
Great Bible in Scotland, i, 418.
proclamation of Queen Elizabeth in favour of, ii, 62, 63.
Greek in Britain and Theodore of Tarsus, i, 102.
introduced into Europe after fall of Constantinople, i, 102.
early teachers of at Oxford and Cambridge, i, 103-105.
Grindal and Coverdale, i, 435.
and Genevan Bible, ii, 36.
and Bishops', i, 71, 73, 75.
Guest (Gheast), Bishop of Rochester, on revision, ii, 69.

Hacket, his zeal against Tyndale's New Testament, i, 176-179.
and Rinek, i, 178, 179.
demands that Christopher of Endhoven be banished, i, 176.
and importation of Tyndale's New Testament into Scotland, i, 245, 246.
Hamilton (John), assassin of Regent Murray and censurer of Genevan Bible, ii, 54, 55.
Hamilton and Melville in the Tower, ii, 206, n. 2.
(Patrick), i, 247.

Hampton Court Conference, ii, 171-179.
confounded with Savoy Conference, ii, 287.
Harman and Fyshe, i, 170.
and Hacket, i, 178.
released from prison, i, 231.
and Queen Anne Boleyn, i, 231, 232.
Heath, account of, ii, 426. (See *Tunstall* and *Heath.*)
Hebrew, early study of, i, 208, 209.
how Tyndale acquired knowledge of, i, 208.
works on, to which he might have access, i, 209.
his knowledge of, i, 209-215.
Hebrew tongue rich in terms of religious emotion, ii, 386, 387, 467.
"Helpmeet," "helpmate" the proper form of, ii, 253, n. 1.
Henry I sneered at for use of English speech, i, 21, 22, n. 1.
Henry III issues proclamations in French and English, i, 23.
Henry IV and V, their relation to Lollards, i, 88, 89.
Henry VIII and Luther, i, 162-164.
and Matthew's Bible, i, 336-339.
his patent conferring on Crumwell sole right to print Great Bible, i, 373.
Hereford (Nicholas de), i, 65, 66.
"His," old use of, ii, 257.
Holbein's frontispiece to Great Bible, i, 361, 362.
Hollybushe's New Testament, influence on Macknight, i, 305.
Hooper, martyrdom of, i, 430.
on desirableness of revision, ii, 66.
"Hucker-mucker," i, 182, n. 3.
Hunt on Cranmer's moderate Calvinism, ii, 372, n. 1.

IDA, with bands of Angles, in Northumberland, i, 33.
"Institution of a Christian Man," dedication of, to the king by prelates, i, 410.

JAMES V, and persecution for religion, ii, 414-416.
close connection between France and Scotland in reign of, ii, 42.
James VI, his descent, ii, 159.
romantic incidents which marked his infantine years, ii, 160.
a boyish kinglet, ii, 161.
his character made up of contrasts, i, 161-165.
James VI—*continued.*
his knowledge of scripture and theology, ii, 165.
fondness for learned discussions, ii, 167, 168.
changes of opinion, ii, 169, 170.
and the Puritans, ii, 169, 174.
flatteries heaped upon him, ii, 170.
the millenary petition, ii, 171.
Hampton Court Conference, ii, 171-176.
fondness for giving nicknames, ii, 176.
saying in regard to Genevan notes, ii, 177, 178.
and whipping boy, ii, 178, n. 1.
his profusion and poverty, ii, 183.
his version did not cost him a farthing, ii, 184.
Joye (George), his Psalter and Isaiah, i, 217.
brings out edition of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 217.
Tyndale's complaint regarding, i, 218, 219.
his reply, i, 219-221.
his account of spurious editions of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 220-222.
controversy between him and Tyndale in regard to soul-life between death and resurrection, i, 222, 223.
his ambition and malice, 224, 225.
"Judas" for "Jesus" in one of the first issues of Authorized Version, ii, 291, n. 3.
Jugge (R.), printer of an issue of Coverdale's Bible, i, 305.
Parker asks Cecil on his behalf for printing of Bishops' Bible, ii, 75.
his mark on Bishops' Bible, ii, 76.

KELLISON (Dr.) and the Bible in one of the three sanctified tongues, ii, 113.
his "Gag for the New Gospel," ii, 149.
Keltic dialects of Britain, no version preserved in, i, 3.
words, few preserved in English language, i, 3.
Kilburne's Tract, ii, 290, 298.
Kilbye, story of, by Walton, ii, 188.
Knyghton on John Ball, i, 52.
on number of Lollards, i, 53.
on Wycliffe's character, i, 57.
on his translation, i, 81.
"Known men," i, 95
Knox (John) and Genevan Bible, ii, 9, 10.

Knox (John)—*continued.*
two sons born to him at Geneva, ii, 10, n. 2.
his erudition, ii, 41.
conversations with Queen Mary, ii, 42, n. 1.
and translation of Genevan Bible, ii, 10.

LANGTOFT'S (Pierre de) Chronicle, i, 24.
Lasco (John A.), ii, 3.
Latin version, its two forms, i, 17.
Latimer's letters to king on English Bible, i, 261, 262.
Laud's dislike of Genevan, ii, 52.
Lauderdale (Duke of) and copy of Matthew's Bible with "kneawe" for "servaunte," i, 352.
Lanfranc scorns native saints, i, 20.
Lawney (Thomas) on Stokesley, i, 265.
Layamon's Chronicle of Britain, ii, 29, n. 2.
Lawrence, his critical remarks on Bishops' Bible, i, 79-84.
Lemoine's complaint of want of pocket Bibles, ii, 306,
Lingard's new version of Four Gospels, ii, 153, 154.
Lollards, origin of name, i, 84.
arguments against, i, 84, 85.
stigmatized not as traitors, but as heretics, i, 85.
persecutions of, i, 87-94.
in Scotland, i, 96.
London (Dr.), his furious zeal against Bible readers, 408, n. 1.
Luft (Hans), printer of Tyndale's Pentateuch, i, 204.
Luther and Tyndale (see *Tyndale*).
Luther's first intimation of purpose to translate New Testament, i, 143, n. 1.
Lydgate, priest and minor poet, i, 87.
Lyndwood's digest, i, 61, n. 1.
Lyra (Nicholas de) and Purvey's Prologue, i, 68, 69.

MACALPINE, brother-in-law of Coverdale, i, 431, 432.
M'Crie's (Dr.), error with regard to Wishart's recantation, i, 419.
Macregol, writer of Rushworth Gloss, i, 14, 15.
Magna Charta makes no mention of different races, i, 23.
Mandeville's Travels translated out of French into English, i, 24.
"Manner," use of, by Coverdale and others, i, 284.
Marbeck's Concordance, i, 350, 351.
Marler defrays expense of last edition of Great Bible, i, 397, 398.
royal proclamation in his interest, i, 405, 406.
Martin (Gregory) stigmatized Genevan Bible as taken from Beza, ii, 53.
attacks plurality of versions, ii, 101, 102.
and Douai Version, ii, 115.
attacks on English Version, ii, 147, 148.
Mary (Bloody), her reign, i, 425-434.
numbers who perished for their religious opinions during, i, 428.
Mary, Queen of Scots, pensions assassin of her brother, ii, 54.
appeals to Rheims New Testament, ii, 136.
sends baptismal font to the mint, ii, 160.
MATTHEW'S BIBLE, 309-352.
title-page and description of, i, 309-311.
John Rogers, editor, i, 311 (see *Rogers*).
the name Matthew, i, 312-314.
origination of volume, i, 314.
where and when printed, i, 314.
Grafton and Whitechurch take on themselves the burden of printing, i, 315-340.
connection of Tyndale and Coverdale with, errors regarding, i, 315-318.
a composite volume partly taken from Tyndale, partly from Coverdale, i, 319-325.
two-thirds Tyndale's, one-third Coverdale's, i, 324.
prefatory matter, i, 326-328.
changes on Coverdale made by Rogers, i, 328, 329.
Coverdale and Rogers on Apocrypha, i, 329-331.
the notes, i, 331-334.
Cranmer and Crumwell, their connection with the volume, i, 335-340.
the royal license procured for it, i, 336.
royal proclamation to curates regarding, i, 336, 337.
boldness of the movement, i, 337, 338.
dedication, i, 339.
Grafton's petition against rival editions, i, 341.
Taverner's edition (see *Taverner*).
other editions, i, 346, 347.

Matthew's Bible—*continued.*
first English Concordance sprang out of the study of Matthew's Bible, i, 350 (see *Marbeck*).
"servaunte" changed into "kneawe" in this Bible, i, 352.
Mazarin Bible, i, 105, n. 3.
Melville (Andrew), ii, 41, 206, 207.
Melville (James), his Diary on unpopularity of Scotchmen in England, i, 207, n. 1.
"Merchant's House" in Antwerp, i, 311.
connection of Rogers and Lambert with, i, 311, n. 4.
Mendicant Orders, Chaucer's scourging of, i, 48.
Millenary Petition, ii, 171.
Milligan (Professor) on relative constructions in Matthew's Gospel, ii, 254, n. 1.
Mill (Walter) martyred, ii, 40.
Misquotations of Scripture, i, 328-330.
Money, value of, in time of Tyndale, i, 118.
Monopoly (Bible), ii, 324, 325.
More (Sir Thomas) and study of Greek, i, 104.
date of birth, i, 109.
on Tyndale's degree, i, 109, 110.
on Tyndale as Lutheran, i, 122, 125.
critical attacks on Tyndale's New Testament, i, 187-190.
his anomalous character, i, 190-193.
his zeal against heretics, i, 193, 194.
his outrageous railing, i, 194-196.
his criticism of nay and no, i, 197, 198.
his confession of defeat, i, 199.
Mulcaster and Puttenham on the English tongue of their period, i, 239, 240.
Munmouth (Humphrey) and Tyndale, i, 116, 117, 124.
Münster and Pagninus used for revision of Old Testament of Great Bible, i, 366.

Necton's confession with regard to circulation of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 169.
Nary's Revision of Douai Version, ii, 153.
"Nay" and "No," More's criticism on, i, 197.
Netter (de Walden) and Wycliffe, i, 52, 56, 57, 58, n. 1.
Nikke (Bishop) and Tyndale's New Testament, i, 174, 183, 184.
Norman invasion, effect of, on English tongue and people, i, 19, 20.
Normandy, loss of, its effect on English tongue, i, 23.
Nycolson, printer of Coverdale's edition, 1537, i, 280, 301, 302.
printer of Hollybushe's New Testament, i, 305.

Occleve, frigid poet, sings of Bradbee's martyrdom, i, 87.
Offor, fragment of Tyndale's New Testament, referred to by, i, 121.
his error in regard to Matthew's Bible, i, 317.
Olivetan's French Bible, ii, 5.
Origen's labours on Septuagint, ii, 337.
Ormulum (The), i, 30.
Overall, one of the translators of Authorized Version, ii, 186.
Owen's controversy with Walton on text of Scripture, ii, 339-341.

Packington and Tunstall, i, 179-181.
his brother shot, i, 181, n. 2.
Parker (Dr.) and Tyndale, 113.
and Tracy, 113, n. 1.
Pagninus Sanctes, i, 286.
his version used by Coverdale, i, 281, 286-291.
Paragraph marks in Authorized Version, ii, 309.
Parker (Archbishop), his connection with Genevan Bible, ii, 33, 36.
succeeds Pole as Archbishop of Canterbury, ii, 59, 60.
some account of, ii, 66.
his passion for uniformity, ii, 66.
intimates to Cecil his design for Bishops' Bible, ii, 70.
letter to the Queen, intimating completion of, ii, 73, 74.
on affectionate terms with fellow-workers, ii, 75.
his preface, ii, 77.
Genevan notes disparaged by, ii, 74, 93.
Patentees, George I issues orders to, with regard to correctors of press, ii, 306.
Pavier, anecdote of, ii, 311.
Pecock's Repressor, i, 70.
his combination of rationalism and ultramontanism, i, 84, 85.
"Pilgrimage of Grace," i, 338.
Plowman (Piers), his vision, i, 48, 49.

Pole (Cardinal) returns to England in Mary's reign, i, 425.
refused to be consecrated while Cranmer lived, i, 426.
Queen's principal adviser, i, 434.
Polychronicon (The), 20, n. 3.
Polyglott Complutensian, Tyndale not acquainted with, i, 142.
Antwerp, ii, 209.
Porter (John) and Sir G. Harvey's picture of the reading of the Bible in old St. Paul's, ii, 400, n. 2.
Price of Bishop's Bible, ii, 94.
of Genevan in Scotland, ii, 43.
of Great, i, 397, 399.
Tyndale's, i, 166, 168, 169.
Wycliffe's, i, 91, 92.
Poyntz, Tyndale's host at Antwerp, i, 238, 239, 240, n. 2.
Printing, invention of, i, 105.
spread of, i, 106.
Gutenberg and Fust, i, 105.
Caxton, i, 106.
effect of printing in cheapening books, i, 106.
Roman and Italic letters, i, 106, n. 1.
interesting information in regard to printing of Bibles, ii, 307, n. 3.
Prest (Agnes) and Raleigh's mother, ii, 61.
Psalms, Richard Rolle's version of, i, 31, 32.
Psalter, popularity of, i, 32, 33.
Hyde's (John) MS. of, i, 31.
Punctuation, how it has varied in Authorized Version, ii, 308, 309.
ambiguity arising from, ii, 379-382.
Puritan described as a Protestant frayed out of his wits, ii, 325.
Purvey, ii, 66-69.
Pykas (John), and MS. Bible, i, 194.
and Tyndale's New Testament, i, 166.

QUENTEL and the Byrckmans, their connection with printing of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 128, 129.
Quijote (Don) on translation, ii, 353, n. 2.

RAVIUS (Chris.), his statement with regard to number of copies of English Bible issued in 1646, ii, 297, n. 1.
Regnault, printer of new edition of Coverdale's Diglott, i, 304.
of Great Bible, i, 357.
Religious Houses, suppression of, i, 387, n. 1, 403.
"Replication," ridicul[illegible] of attorney in con[illegible] i, 193, n. 3.
Resby (John), follower of Wycliffe, burned at Perth, i, 96.
REVISION of present translation, ii, 337-484.
dread of, ii, 343.
desirableness of shown by Dr. Lightfoot and other scholars, ii, 333, 334.
bill for, in the Long Parliament, ii, 344-347.
prepared for by labours on the original text, ii, 347-352.
true nature of, ii, 353.
present version result of frequent revision, ii, 354.
futility of objections to, by Earl of Shaftesbury, late Lord Panmure, Dr. Cumming, Dr. M'Caul, ii, 355.
objections answered, ii, 354-357.
previous attempts at, criticized, ii, 358-363.
that of Scarlett, ii, 358.
Heinfetter, Davidson, Rotherham, and others, ii, 359.
Darby, Baptist American Bible Union, Mace, ii, 360.
Dickenson, Noah Webster, ii, 361.
Alford, Penn, Macknight, Religious Tract Society, Tauchnitz's Thousandth Volume, ii, 362.
"Five Clergymen," M'Lellan, ii, 363.
works on, ii, 363.
required by defects of Authorized Version, ii, 365.
ambiguities, ii, 366-372.
inexact renderings, ii, 372-378.
doubtful punctuation and other points calling for amendment, ii, 378-382.
want of uniformity of rendering, ii, 383 ss.
uniformity not always possible, ii, 384, 385.
but to be kept wherever it may, ii, 385.
since each of the inspired writers has his own style, ii, 385, 386.
terms characteristic of a Divine revelation, ii, 386, 387.
variations, unnecessary, but not affecting the sense, ii, 387-391.
capricious and bewildering, ii, 393-395.
which obscure the meaning, ii, 395-397.

Revision of present translation—variations—*continued.*
motived in some cases, ii, 397-399.
specific instances of,
in parable, ii, 399.
charity, ii, 400.
put to death, ii, 400.
comfortless, ii, 400.
thief, ii, 400.
common, ii, 400, 401.
Holy Ghost, ii, 401.
child, ii, 401.
multitude, ii, 401, 402.
implacable, ii, 402.
in Matthew, ii, 402, 403.
characteristics of Mark's style obscured, ii, 403.
in Luke, John, Acts, ii, 404-406.
Paul's repeated use of same term obscured, ii, 406-413.
goodly apparel, appearing, damnable, ii, 413.
rich, thrones, wonder, cage, ii, 414, 415.
one English term represents several Greek words, ii, 416.
distinctions thereby effaced, ii, 417.
brightness, ii, 417, 418.
crown, people, Godhead, ii, 418.
true, temple, ii, 419.
life, love, ii, 420.
new, light, ii, 421.
clusters of instances, ii, 422-425.
child, ii, 425.
immortality, ii, 426.
sickness, ii, 426.
beasts, ii, 426, 427.
poor, ii, 427.
dead, ii, 427.
world, ii, 427, 428.
will, ii, 428.
weep, servant, judge, ii, 429.
wash, other, ii, 430.
remission, conformed, burden, repent, ii, 431.
bring forth, to do—to make, ii, 432.
hell, ii, 432.
devil—demon, ii, 433, 434.
miracle, sign, wonder, ii, 434, 435.
anacolouthon and paronomasia, ii, 435, 436.
article (*the* Greek), translators guided by no fixed principle in dealing with, ii, 437.
inconsistencies, ii, 437-440.
before the name Christ, ii, 440.
Revision of present translation—article—*continued.*
point frequently lost by omission of, ii, 440-443.
wrong insertion of, ii, 443, 444.
overpressed, ii, 444.
tenses, ii, 445-455.
aorist rendered by perfect, ii, 445-447.
perfect rendered by present, ii, 447-449.
perfect and pluperfect, ii, 449, 450.
Epistle to Hebrews characterized by use of perfect, ii, 450.
imperfect not correctly rendered, ii, 450-452.
present misrendered, ii, 452-455.
Mark and the use of the present, ii, 453, 454.
Greek verbs corresponding to "become" and "be" confounded, ii, 456, 457.
prepositions, ii, 458-465.
rendering of ἐν, ii, 458-460.
διά, ii, 460-462.
εἰς, ii, 462, 463.
ἐκ and ἀπό, ii, 463.
ὑπέρ and περί, ii, 463, 464.
ἐπί and πρός, ii, 464, 465.
particles, ii, 479.
conjunctions, ὅπως and ἵνα, ii, 465.
names (proper), how dealt with, ii, 466-471.
most familiar forms employed, ii, 466.
Jehovah, ii, 467.
want of uniformity, ii, 467-470.
official, ii, 470.
Chaldee, ii, 471.
plural forms wrongly given, ii, 471.
untranslated, ii, 471, 472.
terms connected with the land of Palestine and its productions, ii, 472-479.
works on, ii, 472, 473.
the Land illustrates the Book, ii, 473.
errors in rendering terms belonging to botany and zoology, ii, 474-477.
satyr, unicorn, &c., ii, 474.
variety of rendering, thistle, owl, &c., 475.
apple, spikenard, thorn, &c., ii, 476.
rye, corn, silk, ii, 477.
topographical terms, abundance of in Hebrew, ii, 477-478.
weights, measures, and coins, terms for, ii, 478, 479.

Revision, notices of that which is at present in progress, ii, 481-484.
Rheims and Douai Version (see *Douai*).
Richard II speaks to rebels in their birth tongue, i, 24.
Richard III, statutes of, the first recorded in English, i, 24.
Ridley's (uncle of martyr) depreciation of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 185.
Rinck acts as a spy on Tyndale and his work, i, 178, 179.
consulted by Cochlæus in regard to Tyndale's printing of New Testament, i, 129.
his letter to Wolsey in regard to Bibles taken into Scotland and England, i, 247.
Robert (of Gloucester), his metrical chronicle, i, 20.
Rogers (John), early history, i, 311.
quits England for Antwerp, i, 311.
intimacy with Tyndale and Coverdale, i, 312.
marriage, i, 312.
edits Matthew's Bible, i, 312 (see *Matthew's Bible*).
returns to England on accession of Edward VI, i, 347.
preferments, i, 347.
ordered, under Mary, to keep himself a prisoner in his own house, i, 348.
examination before Gardyner, i, 348.
martyrdom, i, 350.
his descendants, i, 350.
"Roger's Rhyme to his Children," i, 314.
Roman or Western Church, the good it wrought, ii, 110, 111.
its exclusiveness and repression of free thought, i, 111, 112.
its reluctance to give vernacular Scriptures to the people, i, 112.
reasons for the refusal, i, 113.
Romance languages, i, 18, n. 3.
Rouse's Psalms, ii, 314, n. 1.
Rough (John) martyred, i, 430.
Rows (the), a Scottish family of note for learning, ii, 322, n. 1.
Row (John), his proposals for revision, ii, 322-324.
Roye (William) and Tyndale, i, 110, 111.
in what sense an assistant of Tyndale, i, 139, 140.
his "railing rhymes," i, 171.
Ruremond (John) and printing of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 177-185.
Rushworth Gloss, i, 14, 15.
published by Surtees' Society, i, 14, n. 2.
SANDERS (Nicholas) and Douai Bible, ii, 116.
Sandys (Bishop) on importance of revision, ii, 67.
Sautre sent to stake, i, 187.
Scandinavian invasions of France, i, 18.
Schœffer finishes the printing of Tyndale's New Testament, i, 130.
Schorham's translations of the Psalms into Old English, i, 31.
Scotland, how affected by Norman influence, i, 31, notes.
French terms still preserved in common speech of, ii, 42, n. 1.
books and readers in, during 16th and 17th centuries, ii, 312.
independence and poverty, ii, 312, 313.
Bible in, no indigenous translation, ii, 312, 313.
no lack of scholars qualified for the work, ii, 41, 42.
content to receive versions of the Bible from England and Continent, ii, 313, 314.
Wycliffe's, i, 96-98.
Tyndale's New Testament imported, i, 245, 246.
martyrdoms in connection with, i, 246-248, 414, 416.
Great Bible, Act passed, and proclamation made in favour of free Bible circulation, i, 416-418.
reaction and martyrdom of Adam Wallace, George Wishart, and others, i, 419.
Genevan Bible, first Assembly of the Kirk, and, ii, 39, 42.
first Bible issued in, ii, 42, 43.
Arbuthnot and Bassandyne, printers, ii, 43.
George Young, corrector, ii, 44.
publication and dedication to the king, ii, 45.
enactment requiring householders to have copy of, ii, 46.
no change of orthography from English edition, ii, 48.
Greek types, insufficient supply of, ii, 47.
subsequent editions, ii, 48, 49.
favourite volume in Scottish households, ii, 50, 51.
enactment regarding, by Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews, ii, 50.
quoted by Scottish writers, ii, 51.

Scotland—*continued.*
Authorized Version, its success as rapid there as in England, ii, 314-316.
refused by the "Sweet Singers," ii, 225-327.
editions of (see *Authorized Version*).
Bible printing now under supervision of Board in Edinburgh, ii, 324, 325.
Bibliolatry in, ii, 327.
Scottish tongue (old), works in, i, 97.
"Scrip," meaning of, in Authorized Version, ii, 376.
Scrivener (Dr.) and the English Church, ii, 205, n. 1.
his Cambridge Bible, ii, 310.
"Sir" as applied to Tyndale and others, i, 119.
Skeat's Anglo-Saxon Mark, i, 28, n. 1.
Smith (Dr. Myles) and Dr. Bilson superintend Authorized Version at press, ii, 20.
Somerville (Mrs.) and Scottish Bibliolatry, ii, 327.
Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, massacres population of Gravelines, i, 46, n. 4.
Spiridion (Bishop) and the preacher in Cyprus, ii, 235, n. 1.
Steelyard (the) i, 128, n. 1.
Stokesley and the translation of the Scriptures, i, 264.
"Supplication (the) of the Poor Commons," i, 396.
on restrictions of Bible reading, i, 412, 413.
Swinderby, poor priest and preacher, i, 79.
Stuart's (Esme, Duke of Lennox) vile hypocrisy, ii, 38.

TAVERNER edits revised edition of Matthew's Bible, i, 343.
editions, i, 343.
his dedication to the king, i, 344.
his scholarship and the changes made by him, i, 344-346.
his alliterative conceits, i, 334, n. 1.
Tellier (Le), sworn scribe of the Holy Office and printing of Great Bible at Paris, i, 360.
Text, Hebrew, of Old Testament, ii, 209.
Greek, of New Testament used by translators of Authorized Version, ii, 211-214.
Text (original), alarm created by attempts to amend, ii, 338-343.
Origen's labours on, ii, 338.
Stephen's, ii, 339.
Walton's Polyglott, and Owen's considerations on, ii, 339-342.
Bengel assailed, ii, 342.
Mill's New Testament, panic caused by, ii, 342.
Bentley's exposure of the folly of such panic, ii, 342.
Bentley's principles, ii, 347.
textual critics, ii, 347.
changes in Greek Text, ii, 349-352.
Theodore (Archbishop) and the native tongue, i, 4.
and knowledge of Greek in Britain, i, 102.
Thornton (Captain) and change of "servaunte" into "kneawe," i, 351, 352.
"Thought," Greg's mistake with regard to meaning of, ii, 254, n. 2.
Thorpe (William) and Tyndale, i, 97, 98.
Thoulouse, Council of, forbids Scriptures to laity, i, 89, n. 1.
Tischendorf (Constantine von) and Sinaitic MS, ii, 364.
and Lachmann, ii, 347, 348.
misprints in his English New Testament, ii, 314.
Tomson's (Lawrence) edition of Genevan New Testament, ii, 34.
Topley (T.) and Coverdale, i, 256, 257.
Translator, qualifications for a, ii, 479, 480.
Tregelles, ii, 364.
Trevisa in regard to French and English, i, 24.
translates Higden's Polychronicon, i, 24, n. 4.
his claim to have translated the Scriptures, i, 60, 61, n. 2.
Tunstall, Tyndale's application to, i, 115.
his hostility to Tyndale's New Testament, i, 173, 174.
outwitted by Packington, i, 179, 180.
and Heath, first edition of Great Bible, with names of, i, 395,.
a scholar of eminence, i, 396.
one of Mary's favourite bishops, i, 425.
Tyball confesses to having Paul's Epistles after old translation, i, 94.
and Tyndale's New Testament, i, 166.
Tyler's rising and Wycliffe's teaching, i, 50, 51.

Tyndale (John) punished for corresponding with his brother, i, 193.
TYNDALE, i, 107-248.
place and date of birth, i, 107-109.
the name Hichens, i, 108.
at Oxford, i, 109.
his early love for the Bible, 109.
removes to Cambridge, i, 110.
no record of his ordination, i, 110.
tutor with Sir John Walsh, i, 111-114.
controversies with the clergy, i, 113, 114.
rejection by Tunstall, i, 115.
residence with Humphrey Munmouth, i, 116.
manner of life in London, i, 116-118.
meaning of title "Sir," as applied to him, i, 118-119.
leaves London for Hamburg, i, 120, 121.
connection with Wittemberg and Luther, i, 121-128.
his knowledge of German, i, 127, 128.
at Cologne puts New Testament to press, i, 128.
Cochlæus discovers his work, i, 129.
his flight to Worms, i, 129.
brings out two editions of New Testament, quarto and octavo, i, 130, 131.
separate editions of Matthew and Mark, i, 131, 132.
noble and disinterested motives, i, 133.
letter to Vaughan, i, 134.
and Fryth, i, 134, 135, 216.
his modesty, i, 135.
his scholarship, i, 136-137.
the sole translator, i, 138.
assistants incorrectly assigned to him, i, 138, 139.
and Friar Roye, i, 139-141.
helps, i, 141.
editions of Greek Testament of Erasmus used by, i, 141-142.
relation of Tyndale's translation to that of Luther, i, 143-146.
examples of influence of Luther's version on that of Tyndale, i, 146.
use of Vulgate, i, 146, 149.
illustrations of Tyndale's independence of Vulgate, i, 149-150.
renderings suggested by Vulgate, i, 150, 151.
Tyndale's neglect of the Greek particles, i, 151, 152.
incorrect renderings, i, 152-153.
paraphrastic, i, 153, 154.
Tyndale—*continued.*
quaint and homely, i, 155-156.
happy, i, 156-159.
Fuller's eulogy, i, 159.
archaic forms and peculiar spelling, i, 159, 160.
time when Tyndale's New Testament arrived in England, i, 161-167.
circulation by Barnes, Necton, Constantine, Fyshe, and Harman, i, 168-170.
alarm of the authorities, i, 171.
Tunstall's manifesto, i, 173.
Warham's mandate, i, 173.
Bishop Nikke's offer, i, 174.
third edition of New Testament, issued at Antwerp and conveyed to England along with provisions, i, 174, 175.
circulation detected, i, 175.
zeal of Hacket at Antwerp, i, 176, 177.
Ruremond's (John) edition in great letter, i, 177.
Harman apprehended, i, 178.
Rinck employed to apprehend Roye and Tyndale, i, 178, 179.
Tunstall outwitted, i, 179-182.
Tyndale's edition, with epilogue to the Epistle to the Romans, i, 182.
Tunstall burns New Testament, i, 184.
charges the volume with containing more than two thousand errors, i, 185.
More's "Dialogue," a critical attack, i, 187-189.
Tyndale's reply, i, 190, 196, 197.
More's "Confutation" and "Apology," i, 198, 199.
Tyndale rebuts objections to English translation of Scripture, i, 201.
at Marburg, joined by Fryth, i, 203.
"Parable of the Wicked Mammon," "Obedience of a Christian Man," "Practice of Prelates," i, 204.
Translation of Pentateuch, i, 204, 205.
Jonah, i, 205.
Historical Books, i, 319-322.
Prologue to Jonah, i, 206.
Exposition of Sermon on Mount, and Commentary on 1 John, i, 206, 207.
Tyndale's Hebrew helps, i, 208, 209.
evidence that he translated from Hebrew, i, 209-214.
Quaint renderings from his Old Testament, i, 215.

Tyndale—*continued.*
Tyndale and Joye, i, 217-225.
Tyndale's revision of his New Testament, i, 225, 226.
collation showing its thoroughness, i, 227-231.
terms changed in course of successive revisions, i, 231.
copy of revised edition presented to Queen Anne, i, 232.
editions of 1535, collated from Fry's monograph, with Matthew, i, 233, 234.
peculiar spelling of edition of 1535, i, 234.
Vaughan and Tyndale, i, 235, 236.
Tyndale's life at Antwerp, i, 236, 237.
Sir Thomas Elyot undertakes to seize him, i, 237.
Tyndale at the house of Poyntz, i, 238, 239.
arrested and imprisoned, i, 239, 240.
during his imprisonment, his New Testament passes through press at home, i, 240.
failure of efforts in his favour, i, 241, 242.
letter of Tyndale in prison, to the Marquis of Bergen-op-Zoom, i, 242.
his martyrdom, i, 243, 254.
Wycliffe and Tyndale, i, 244.
Tyndale's New Testament in Scotland, i, 245-248.
Tyndale and Coverdale, i, 251-255.
Types (Hebrew and Greek), lack of, ii, 47.
Wynkyn de Worde and Lekprevik in regard to, ii,

UDALL (Nicholas), translator of Erasmus, i, 423, n. 1.
Ussher (Archbishop), his chronology, ii, 217.

VAUGHAN, Tyndale appeals to, i, 120, 134.
interviews with Tyndale at Antwerp, i, 235.
his despatches in regard to him, i, 235, 236.
Verses, chapters first divided into, in English Bible, ii, 8.
originated by Robert Stephens, ii, 8, n. 2.
Versions of Scripture, modern European, before the Reformation, i, 253, n. 2.
Veruliet (Daniel), printer of Douai version, i, 152.
"Vinegar Bible," ii, 15, n. 1.
Voysey's impoverishment of see of Exeter, i, 439, 440.
Vulgate, account of, ii, 107-110.
and Itala, i, 17.

Walton, controversy between Owen and, ii, 339.
Ward's (Thomas) attack on Authorized Version, ii, 267.
Warham and Tyndale's New Testament, i, 173, 174.
regarding English Bible for the people, i, 259, 260.
Waste (Joan) condemned and burnt, ii, 61.
Watson's (James) Bibles, ii, 321.
Westminster, council at, 24th May, 1530, in regard to an Authorized Bible, i, 184.
Whitchurch, Great Bible called by his name, ii, 218. See *Grafton.*
married widow of Cranmer, ii, 218, n. 2.
Whitgift and Genevan Bible, ii, 35, 36, 101.
his hostility to Cartwright, ii, 149.
Whittaker, his errors in regard to Great Bible, i, 280, 281, 282, 284.
Whittingham (W.), account of, ii, 5, 6.
his Genevan New Testament, ii, 5, 6.
his own account of, ii, 6, 7.
epistle prefixed by John Calvin, ii, 7.
not first edition of that in Genevan Bible, ii, 7.
description of, ii, 8, 9.
in this New Testament, chapters first divided into verses, ii, 8.
his Psalms in collection of Sternhold and Hopkins, ii, 6, n. 2.
William the Conqueror and English tongue, i, 20, 21, n. 1.
Wiseman (Cardinal), and vernacular versions of Scripture, ii, 113.
Witchcraft, Authorized Version charged with favouring, i, 269, 270.
Wolsey condemned no one to flames for religious opinions, i, 167, 168.
his license to Latimer, i, 172.
his character, i, 172, 173.
WYCLIFFE (John de), i, 30-98.
time and place of birth, i, 38.
academic life, i, 39, 40, nn.
doctrines, i, 40, 42.
persecutions, i, 40, 41, 81, 82.
livings, i, 40.
his patron, John of Gaunt, i, 41, n. 1.

Wycliffe—*continued.*
death, i, 41, n. 3.
his bones, i, 82.
literary works, i, 41, 42.
three epochs in life of, i, 42, 43.
purity of character, i, 57.
WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE, i, 44-98.
when Wycliffe first resolved to give English Bible to his age, i, 44.
causes which led to this resolution, i, 45, 48.
Papal rapacity, i, 45-47.
state of mendicant orders, i, 47.
alarming condition of church and state, i, 48, 49.
the Black Death, i, 49.
Wat Tyler's revolt and Wycliffe's alleged connection with, i, 50-54.
his desire that Scripture should be standard of appeal, i, 56, 57.
nobleness of aim in translating Scriptures, i, 58, 59.
Wycliffe shown to have been the first to translate the entire Bible into English, i, 59, 63.
Wycliffe's own part in the work of translating, i, 64.
that of Nicholas de Hereford, i, 65, 66.
revision of translation commenced by Wycliffe, i, 66.
carried through by Purvey, i, 66-69.
Wycliffe's Bible—*continued.*
second version often confounded with first, i, 69, 70.
modern editions of, i, 69, 70.
language of, i, 69-78.
circulation of, by poor priests, i, 79.
surviving copies of, i, 80, 81.
hostility to, and to followers, i, 81-90.
Act de Heretico Comburendo, i, 85.
fires of Smithfield, i, 87.
Arundel constitutions, i, 89.
stealthy reading of, i, 91.
nefarious means of detecting Bible readers, i, 93.
prices paid for, i, 91, 92.
influence of, continued to time of Tyndale, i, 94, 95.
in Scotland, i, 96-98.
Wyllyams (Robert), his note on Bible reading, i, 413.

XIMENES (Cardinal) and Complutensian Polyglott, ii, 112.
shuddered at the idea of giving Bible to the Moors in their own tongue, ii, 112.

YEARS, terrible, 1534-1541, i, 387-390.

ZÜRICH BIBLE, i, 285, n. 1.
Coverdale's use of, i, 281-285 (see *Coverdale*).

GLASGOW: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

00068074

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018